THE OLD NEW YORK FRONTIER



JOSEPH BRANT—THAYENDANEGEA

(His age, thirty-four.)

(From a mezzotint of 1779, now in the Lenox Library, after a portrait by Romney, painted in London, in 1776.)

THE OLD NEW YORK FRONTIER

ITS WARS WITH INDIANS AND TORIES, ITS MISSIONARY SCHOOLS, PIONEERS AND LAND TITLES

1614–1800

BY

FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1901

THE LIBRARY OF
CONGRESS,
TWO COPIES RECEIVED
APR. 17 1901
COPYRIGHT ENTRY
Apr. 16, 1901
CLASS a XXc. No.
7341
COPY B.

COPYRIGHT, 1901, BY
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

THE LIBRARY
OF CONGRESS

TROW DIRECTORY
PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING COMPANY
NEW YORK

THESE

ANNALS OF MY BIRTHLAND

ARE INSCRIBED TO THE MEMORY OF

VIRGINIA ISABEL FORBES

MY CONSTANT COMPANION IN THEIR PREPARATION

THROUGH MANY YEARS;

WHOSE HAND WROTE AND REWROTE

MORE THAN HALF THESE PAGES.

"BUT THY ETERNAL SUMMER SHALL NOT FADE."

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

Why this History 3

PART I

INDIANS AND FUR TRADERS

I. The Iroquois and the Susquehanna 11
II. Indian Villages in the Upper Valley . . . 21
III. The Coming of White Men (1614–1740) . 32

PART II

MISSIONARIES AND THE FRENCH WAR
1650–1769

I. Jesuits and Church of England Men . . . 43
II. Missionaries from New England 52
III. Gideon Hawley's Coming 56
IV. War Interrupts Mr. Hawley's Work . . . 63
V. New Men at Oghwaga 69
VI. Pontiac's War and After It 73
VII. Last of the Indian Missions 80

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART III

LAND TITLES AND PIONEERS

1679–1774

PAGE

I. William Penn and Sir William Johnson . . 87
II. The Fort Stanwix Deed, and Patents that Followed It 99
III. The Patent Called Wallace's 106
IV. The First Settlers 116
V. Journal of a Tour in 1769 138

PART IV

THE BORDER WARS BEGUN

1776–1777

I. Causes that Led to the Wars 147
II. Why Brant Came to the Susquehanna . . . 157
III. Brant's Arrival in Unadilla 168
IV. General Herkimer's Conference with Brant . 176
V. The Battle of Oriskany 185

PART V

OVERTHROW OF THE FRONTIER

1777–1778

I. Alarm Among the Settlements 201
II. Cobleskill, Springfield, and Wyoming . . . 207

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

III. German Flatts Destroyed 223
IV. The Burning of Unadilla and Oghwaga . . 229
V. The Cherry Valley Massacre 238

PART VI

THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION

1779

I. General Clinton at Otsego Lake 255
II. Brant's Return and the Battle of Minisink . . 263
III. General Clinton's Descent of the Susquehanna 271
IV. Iroquois Civilization Overturned 278

PART VII

LAST YEARS OF THE WAR

1780–1783

I. Schoharie and the Mohawk Laid Waste . . 287
II. Sir John and Brant Return 295
III. Colonel Willett Expels the Invaders . . . 301
IV. Final War Scenes 308
V. The Iroquois After the War 317

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART VIII

THE RESTORATION OF THE FRONTIER

1782–1800

PAGE

I. Return of the Former Settlers 331
II. Men Who Came from New England . . 337
III. Pioneers by Way of Wattles's Ferry . . . 347
IV. William Cooper, of Cooperstown 357
V. Jacob Morris and Talleyrand's Visit . . . 365
VI. Churches—Father Nash and Others Founded 373
VII. A Great Highway 379
VIII. Economic Facts in Pioneer Life 392

BIBLIOGRAPHY, ETC.:

Material in Print 403
Manuscripts 410
A Few of the Many 411
A Personal Note 413

INDEX 415

Illustrations

Portrait of Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, *Frontispiece*

From a large and rare mezzotint of 1779, in the Lenox Library, made from a portrait painted in London by Romney, *in 1776.*

FACING PAGE

An Iroquois Fort, ... 12

Believed to have stood on the shore of Onondaga Lake and besieged by Champlain *in 1615. From Vol. III. of "The Documentary History of the State of New York." The original in* Champlain's "*Voyages.*" *Paris, 1619.*

Council Rock, Otsego Lake, ... 22

An ancient Indian rendezvous. From a recent photograph.

Portrait of Sir William Johnson, ... 40

From a copy in the State Library, at Albany, of an original, formerly owned by Sir John Johnson, *Sir* William's *son.*

Looking up the Unadilla at its confluence with the Susquehanna, ... 102

Being part of the Fort Stanwix Treaty line of 1768. From a recent photograph.

Four Eminent New York Indians, ... 158

Sa Ga Yean Qua Resh Tow, *King of the Mohawks, in 1710, alias King* Brant, Joseph's *grandfather. From a rare mezzotint of the period in the Lenox Library.*

Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row. *Emperor of the Six Nations, in 1710. From a rare mezzotint in the Lenox Library.*

E. Tow O Koam, *King of the River Indians, in 1710. From a rare mezzotint in the Lenox Library.*

Joseph Brant, *Thayendanegea, his age 63. From a portrait painted in Albany by* Ezra Ames *in 1805.*

ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

Fort Oswego, ... 186

The principal rendezvous of Indians, Tories and British regulars in the Revolution. From a large print in Vol. I of "The Documentary History of the State of New York." The original in Smith's "History of New York." Quarto. London, 1767.

Monument on the Hillside, Overlooking the Ravine at Oriskany, ... 196

From a recent photograph.

Monument at Cherry Valley to those who Perished in the Massacre, ... 238

On the site of the Revolutionary Fort. From a recent photograph.

General JAMES CLINTON, ... 272

From a portrait in "The Journals of the Sullivan Expedition."

Colonel MARINUS WILLETT, ... 302

From the frontispiece to "A Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel MARINUS WILLETT."

The Susquehanna at Unadilla Village, . . 348

Site of Wattles's Ferry in the middle distance. From a recent photograph.

Portrait of J. FENIMORE COOPER, . . . 358

From an Engraving by J. B. FORREST *of a miniature by* H. CHILTON.

Otsego Hall, Cooperstown, ... 362

The home of J. FENIMORE COOPER. *Built by Cooper's father in 1797–99. Improved by Cooper in 1824. Destroyed by fire in 1853. The grounds now a village park. From an old print.*

The Seal of the Dongan Charter, . . .

Stamped on the Cover

See foot-note, page 92.

Maps

FACING PAGE

The Frontier of New York, in the Revolution, ... 1

Compiled by the author.

Early Land Titles on the Frontier with dates and owners' names, . . *End of Volume*

Reduced from a map compiled about 1770 by SIMEON DEWITT *and printed in Volume I of "The Documentary History of the State of New York."*

INTRODUCTION

Why this History

Why this History

REASONS for writing this history may in some numbers be cited. About one hundred and sixty years before the Revolution —earlier, in fact, than the landing of the Pilgrims— these lands had been visited by white men. Traders had travelled along the Indian trails of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys periodically all through that century and a half, while for at least a quarter of a century before the Revolution, missionaries had engaged in constant labor on the Susquehanna. By the missionaries, schools and churches were founded, and a beneficent and fruitful work was well under way when the war put a sudden end to peaceful activities. The lands on the Susquehanna for a considerable time were the frontier of the province of New York, the Unadilla River, one of the tributaries of the larger stream, forming another part of that boundary line between the Indians and the English, which was established by the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Beyond this line no settlements were made until after the war, when the white man secured his first titles in that fertile region of Central and Western New York.

During the Revolution the upper Susquehanna became a base of operations from which the Indians and Tories, who had fled from the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, found their way back into the settled parts of New York, and under Joseph Brant, Colonel John Butler, Walter H. Butler, and Sir John Johnson wrought their destruction. After peace returned, the history of these Susquehanna

lands is the history of a chain of prosperous settlements founded mainly by men from New England States on sites where Scotch-Irish, German, and other pioneers had taken up lands before the conflict. Thus it becomes a history, furnishing a type of the settlement of Central New York.

In the history of the upper Susquehanna Valley as a highway, three distinct periods might be named. First come the trails of the Indian era, dating from immemorial times and including the years of the fur traders and the Protestant missions. Second is the time from 1770 to 1783, when by turns the valley was a road for pioneers coming into the country, to be driven out by fire and the tomahawk; a road for Indians bent on spoliation or massacre; a route by land and water for the soldiers of General Clinton; and, finally, a route along which the Indians, stirred to bitter revenge by General Sullivan's ravages, penetrated and laid waste all that remained of the Mohawk and Schoharie settlements. Third comes the period after the peace, when the valley was the road for settlers bound for the "Southern Tier" and Pennsylvania by way of Wattles's Ferry, from 1784 on for many years, and when from about 1800 it became at Unadilla the terminus of two great turnpikes, the Catskill and the Ithaca, which were the railroads of their time and along which for a quarter of a century ran the main course of trade and travel for a large inland territory.

This history has long waited for consecutive and full narration. More than half a century ago several writers dealt with certain interesting parts of it. Campbell, with an able and gentle hand, wrote the story of the settlement of Cherry Valley, and of

stirring events in Tryon County during the Revolution. Stone wrote the biography of Brant as might one who loved Brant and honored his memory. Simms gathered into his several publications an extensive and curious array of material. Jay Gould, when still under age, revived much that Campbell and Simms had brought to light, and added other valuable information. Cooper, with accuracy and fulness, recorded the annals of the settlement developed by his father on Otsego Lake, all of which Cooper himself may be said to have seen and a large part of which he afterward was.

Some of these and other chronicles were printed sixty or more years ago. They all long since had passed out of print and out of the convenient reach of purchasers, some of them being now very scarce books. At the time of their publication, moreover, a large store of important material, printed and unprinted, which is now to be found in State archives and in libraries, was either inaccessible, or for other reasons was not drawn upon.*

* Noteworthy material of this kind includes The Documentary History of the State of New York, 4 vols., 8vo; The New York Colonial Documents, 15 vols., quarto; The New York Colonial and Land Papers, 63 Ms. vols., fol.; The Public Papers of Governor George Clinton, edited by Hugh Hastings, State Historian, 4 vols., 8vo, the same being the part thus far published of the Clinton Manuscripts in the State Library, comprising 48 large folio volumes, these manuscripts having been largely used in the preparation of this work through permission from the State Library; The Journals of the Legislative Council and Provincial Congress, 4 vols., quarto; The New York Revolutionary Papers, 2 vols., quarto; The New York State Archives, 1 vol., quarto; The Journals of the Sullivan Expedition; The Draper Collection of Brant Manuscripts in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison, 23 vols., large octavo; The Sir William Johnson Manuscripts, in the State Library, 25 vols., large folio, and all of Parkman's writings. Most important of all this material, in so far as relates to the Border Wars, are the Clinton Papers and Manuscripts. The intelligence shown by Mr. Hastings in initiating and carrying forward the publication of these papers deserves special recognition. Only in the light of this correspondence can the whole story of

This is true in eminent degree of the missionaries, of whom very little has been heretofore written, and by the above-mentioned writers, nothing. It is true in large degree of the Border Wars, the real origin and motives of which, especially on the side of Brant and his Indian followers, as well as the full details affecting this frontier, the author believes he has here more clearly set forth. In fact, by combining the new material with the old, it has now become possible to prepare a continuous historical record of the valley, covering the period from our day back to the years when the feet of white men first followed the Indian trails of the Susquehanna, almost three centuries ago.

But there are limitations which seem destined always to exist. Beyond certain dates, those of about two hundred years ago, the historical explorer has at times little more to guide him than isolated facts, and his imagination, as he seeks to find a way about in the dim twilight of Indian legend and scattered lore. It is not until the close of the seventeenth century that he is well assisted by illuminating records.

Previous to the Revolution, the growth and spread of settlements in America had been extremely slow everywhere. More than a century elapsed after Columbus found the New World, before Hendrick Hudson discovered the stream that bears his name. A still longer period passed away before the Pilgrims disembarked from the Mayflower. When permanent settlements were first planted in

this frontier in the Revolution be clearly understood. Stone saw some of the papers, but many others seem never to have passed under his eyes. A fuller list of authorities, the majority of which were unknown to earlier writers, will be found in the bibliography at the end of this volume.

the Susquehanna Valley, two and a half centuries had come and gone since that memorable voyage from the Port of Palos.

Those centuries, so barren of history here, had witnessed events of great pith and moment elsewhere. England had gone forward from the Wars of the Roses almost to the reign of George III. Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Dryden, and Pope are among those gifted men of genius by whom her intellectual greatness had been advanced. Her political destiny meanwhile had been broadened and deepened under Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and Cromwell. In France had lived Richelieu and Louis XIV., while under Charles V. and Philip II. a vast Spanish empire had come into existence and decayed. On the banks of the Hellespont, only forty years before the voyage of Columbus, expired the last remnant of the Empire of Rome, which embraced at one time, as Gibbon said, "the fairest part of the earth and the most civilized portion of mankind."

On American soil we can point to little of striking renown during those generations. Near the end of them Washington had become a name associated honorably with the French War. Jonathan Edwards had astonished men in Europe, as well as here, with the vigor and subtlety of his mind. Franklin had made contributions to human knowledge of great worth and potency. But of other eminent names the records are bare. For the most part men had been born, had lived, toiled, and died absorbed in the simple pursuits of trade and domestic life.

In the province of New York the first successful men were fur traders who exchanged Dutch goods for beaver skins. During more than half a century

after Hudson's arrival these Dutchmen did scarcely anything more. Villages grew up on Manhattan Island and in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. The trader's boat penetrated down the head-waters of the Susquehanna. But wherever villages were founded, they were not so much permanent settlements as trading-posts. Theodore Roosevelt has justly observed that while the Dutch aspired to secure large wealth for the mother-country, they were devoid of ambition to found on these shores a free Dutch nation.

As traders, the Dutch never promised to open a way to great national wealth. For the eleven years between 1624 and 1635 the beaver skins received in Holland numbered only 80,182, and the otter and other skins, 9,447, or about 8,000 skins of all kinds per year. Albany, the fur depot for the whole interior, was described by Father Jogues, in 1644, as "a miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon and as many swivels, with some twenty-five or thirty houses built of boards with thatched roofs." Except in the chimneys, "no mason's work had been used."

Scarcely more enterprise marked the first years of English rule. As late as 1695 the trade amounted to only £10,000, while in 1678 Governor Andros reported that a merchant worth $2,500 or $5,000 was "accounted a good, substantial merchant," and a planter "worth half that in movables" was a prosperous citizen. The value of all estates in the province was only $750,000. Clearly, that was a time of very small things, but they were among the fruitful beginnings of a land and people from which was to grow the greatest of all the States, and in them this frontier had an ample share.

PART I

Indians and Fur Traders

I

The Iroquois and the Susquehanna

WE cannot understand the Indians of New York if we judge them only by what is seen to-day of Indian life in the Far West, among tribes who roam the mountains and plains, and who have emerged so little from the nomad state; or if we judge the Iroquois by their descendants now living on reservations. Not alone has their territorial dominion passed away, but their genius also—at least, in its manifestations. They have remained silent witnesses of the progress of civilized life on American soil—stolid, unimpassioned, proud. Before the white man came was their time of splendor; after that began their decadence.

The Iroquois, in their best days, were the noblest and most interesting of all Indians who have lived on this continent north of Mexico. They were truly the men whom a name they bore described, a word signifying men who surpassed all others. They alone founded political institutions and gained political supremacy. With European civilization unknown to them, they had given birth to self-government in America. They founded independence; effected a union of States; carried their arms far beyond their own borders; made their conquests permanent; conquered peoples becoming tributary

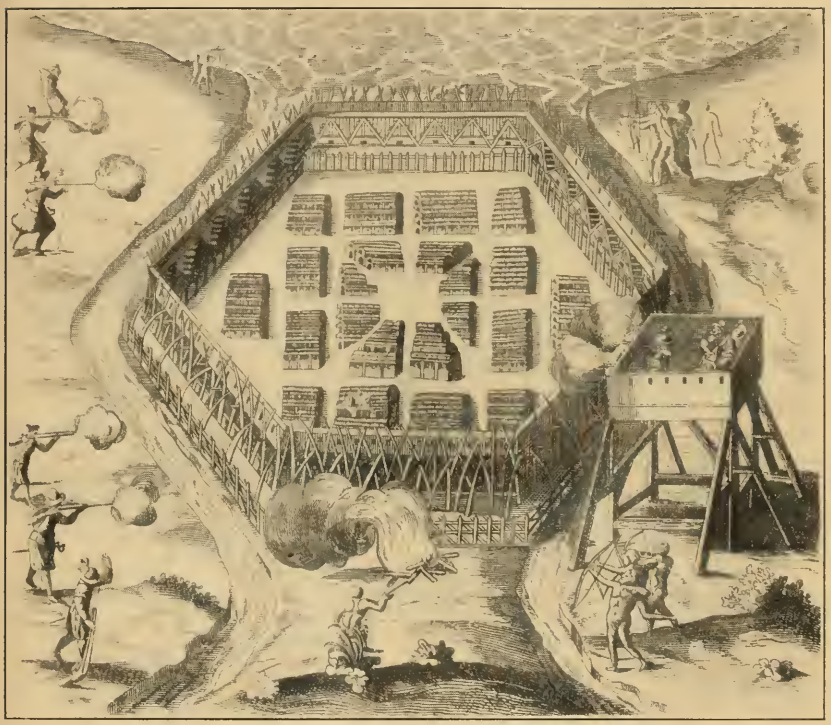
States much after the manner of those which Rome conquered two thousand years ago, or those which England subdues in our day. In diplomacy they matched the white man from Europe: they had self-control, knowledge of human nature, tact and sagacity, and they often became the arbiters in disputes between other peoples. Universal testimony has been borne to their oratory, of which the merit was its naturalness, and which bears the supreme test of translation. Convinced that they were born free, they bore themselves always with the pride which sprang from that consciousness. Sovereigns they were, and the only accountability they acknowledged was an accountability to the Great Spirit.

In war genius they have been equalled by no race of red men. The forts which they erected around their villages were essentially impregnable. An overwhelming force alone could enter them; artillery alone could destroy them. It was virtually an empire that they reared, and this empire of the sword, like the Empire of Rome, meant peace within its borders. Before the Europeans came, there had, unquestionably, for some generations, been peace among them. It was an ideal and an idyllic state of aboriginal life, all of which was to be overthrown by the white man when he arrived, bearing in one hand fire-arms, and in the other fire-water.

The period for which the province of New York had been occupied by the Iroquois,* or Five Nations, at the time of the Dutch discovery, is not known. Morgan † cites circumstances which show

* The origin of this word has been long discussed. Horatio Hale refers it to a native Huron word, *ierokwa*, indicating those who smoke.

† Lewis H. Morgan, author of "The League of the Iroquois," the best of all books relating to the institutions and customs of that people,

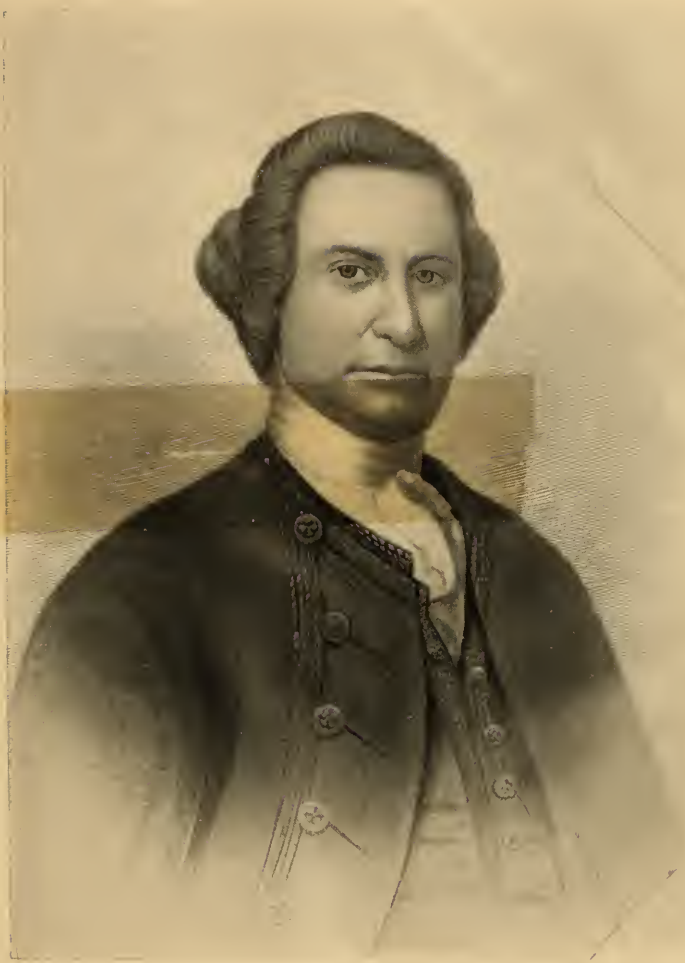


AN IROQUOIS FORT

(Believed to have stood on the shore of Onondaga Lake. Besieged by Champlain in 1615.)

quois rose rapidly in power and eventually made their influence felt all over the eastern part of the continent. They are known to have carried their arms westward to the Mississippi and southward to the Carolinas. They entered Mexico, and La Salle found them in Illinois. Captain John Smith, while exploring Chesapeake Bay, encountered there a small fleet of their canoes. Other Indians assured him that the Mohawks "made war upon all the world."

Everywhere these New York Indians were conquerors. They gained at last a recognized mastery over territory that now forms States and might make an empire, their influence reaching its height at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Morgan declares that in point of sway they had reared the most powerful empire that ever existed in America north of the Aztec monarchy. Miss Yawger quotes a remark, that their authority at one time extended over a larger domain than was embraced in the Empire of Rome, and Ellis H. Roberts has said they "ran in conquest farther than the Greek arms were ever carried, and to distances which Rome surpassed only in the days of its culminating glory." As for the ultimate purpose of the League being the abolition of war, this undoubtedly was its tendency, once conquest had been achieved. As with the Empire of Rome, so with the Empire of the Iroquois; within the borders of the empire there was peace. Morgan believes the Iroquois might have achieved still greater eminence. Parkman says they afford "perhaps an example of the highest elevation which man can reach without emerging from the primitive condition of the hunter." But deadly enemies arrived when the white man came with his ambitions and his fire-water.



Wm Johnson

(From a portrait in the State Library, at Albany, that was copied from an original

It is interesting to reflect that this federation of warlike people had for its capital a small village near Onondaga * Lake where general congresses were held, and the policy of the League agreed upon. To Onondaga, highways from the south, east, and west conveniently led. These men lived on the highest land of the continent east of the Mississippi. They were at the head-waters of great rivers, and thus were able to reach nations less powerful than themselves, whom repeatedly they brought into subjection. Past the confluence of the Unadilla and Susquehanna rivers, messengers of peace or war, warriors going to battle and returning from victories in the south, made their way.

This strategic advantage in very notable manner was to serve the Indians in the eighteenth century when menaced by a conflict between Europeans—the English and the French—for possession of their country. No one understood the advantage better than the Indians themselves. At Onondaga they declared that "if the French should prevail so far as to attempt to drive us out of our country, we can with our old men, wives and children, come down the streams of the Mohawk River, the Delaware, both branches of the Susquehanna and the Potomac, to the English. If the English should expell us our country, we have a like conveyance to the French by the streams of St. Lawrence and Sorrell River, and if both should join, we can retire across the Lakes."

The Iroquois, though powerful as a confederacy, were never a numerous people. Just before the Revolution it is unlikely that they numbered more

* People of the mountain is the translation Dr. Beauchamp gives for Onondaga.

than 15,000 souls, if so many—hardly one-third the present population of Otsego County. When their influence was greatest, and they had not begun to suffer from the white man's vices, they are believed to have numbered perhaps 25,000, though never more. As late as 1873, official reports placed the total number then living at 13,660. At the close of the Revolution their population was considerably less than at the beginning; instead of 15,000 it probably did not equal the number returned in 1873. More of the Iroquois may, therefore, be living now than were living at the close of the Revolution.*

Those Iroquois lands of which this volume mainly treats, had been the property of the Mohawks and Oneidas.† The Unadilla River and part of the present town of Unadilla, with perhaps all of it, were Oneida territory. Farther east were Mohawk lands. The Oneidas are known to have sold land as far east as Herkimer and Delhi. Evidence, however, which Morgan regards as safe, begins the line of division at a point five miles east of Utica and extends it directly south to Pennsylvania, making Unadilla border-land between the two nations. Lands in several parts of Otsego County were sold by the Mohawks, but none lay as far west as Unadilla. John M. Brown, who went to Schoharie in 1750, says that after 1763 or

* Schoolcraft, writing in 1846, after taking a census, gave much lower estimates than any of these. At the beginning of the Revolution their number, he thought, was under 10,000, and in 1846 only 6,942. Of the latter total, 4,836 were then living in the United States and 3,843 in New York State alone. He thought their worldly condition at that time such as would promote a considerable increase within a short period.

† Mohawk, or the other form of the word, Maqua, has been commonly defined as meaning bear. It has also been said to signify a man-eater. The word Oneida, means people of the stone.

1764, the Mohawks claimed land as far south and west as the mouth of Schenevus Creek, and that it was only after establishing their claims that they made sales to Sir William Johnson. Beyond the Unadilla River and extending to the Chenango lay Oneida lands, but in this part of the province early in the eighteenth century a tract was granted to the Tuscaroras,* who had come up from their earlier home in the Carolinas, and thus made the six nations where before there had been five.

In the summer of 1608, one year before Hendrick Hudson explored another great river, Captain John Smith made a tour of Chesapeake Bay as far north as the mouth of the Susquehanna. Here he met the Indians whose name this river bears. Writing the word Sasquesahanocks, he called them "a mighty people and mortall enemies with the Wassawoneks." They were "great and well-proportioned men," and "seemed like giants to the English." He found them "of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as gods." George Alsop, who wrote sixty years later in a kind of extravagant language peculiar to him, described them as "cast into the mould of a most large and warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven foot high in latitude, and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voyce large and hollow, as ascending out of a cave, their gait and behaviour straight, stately and majestic, treading on the earth with as much pride, contempt and disdain to so sordid a centre as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and earth." The stream which they inhabited and seldom departed from, except for war, Al-

* The accepted translation of this word is shirt-wearers.

sop says was "called by their own name the Susquehannock River."

These Indians, the most powerful tribe in Maryland, were among the fiercest enemies of the Iroquois, by whom and by the white men of Virginia they were at last subdued. A greater enemy, however, had been found in the small-pox, which in 1661 and later years reduced the number of the warriors from seven hundred to three hundred, and thenceforth for a hundred years they remained "a weak and dwindling people." The last remnant of them perished in 1753 in Lancaster Jail, "cruelly butchered by a mob." The famous orator Logan was their most celebrated chief.

The name Susquehanna is described by Simms as "an aboriginal word said to signify crooked river."* This interpretation has long survived, and perhaps to Cooper more than to anyone else is its survival due. Cooper gives that meaning in "The Pioneers." The word is not found in Iroquois dictionaries. It is not even an Iroquois word, although the name of an Iroquois stream and of a people who became allies of the Iroquois. It is, in fact, an Algonquin word, and seems to have come from the Lenni Lenapes, or Delawares. Heckewelder, the missionary, says it is properly the word "Sisquehanne," and he advances the opinion that it came "from

* History of Schoharie County. Jephtha Root Simms was a native of Connecticut, and in 1829 was employed in New York City in a retail store. His health failing, he removed in 1832 to Schoharie County, where he went into business. He afterward became a toll-collector on the Erie Canal at Fultonville. Later he served as ticket-agent for the New York Central Road at Fort Plain, and at Fort Plain in 1883 he died at the age of seventy-six. Simms's History of Schoharie County was first published in 1845. Just before his death he brought out an enlarged edition in two volumes with a new title, The Frontiersmen. Mr. Simms all his life was an industrious collector of local material. He wrote entertainingly and told a story well.

siska, meaning mud, and hanne, a stream." It had been overheard, he says, by some of the first settlers in times of high water in such expressions as "Jah! Achsisquehanne," meaning how muddy the stream is. Authorities to whom the author appealed have cited Heckewelder's interpretation, and among them the late James C. Pilling, who devoted many years to a study of the Indian languages. Dr. Beauchamp, however, gives Quen-isch-achsch-gek-hanne as a word from which Heckewelder once thought Susquehanna might have been derived by corruption. This word means "river with long reaches," which is a fair equivalent for "crooked river." It is certainly a more accurate description than "muddy stream."

The Iroquois had another name for the Susquehanna, Ga-wa-no-wa-na-neh, which means "great island," and to which Gehunda, the common word for river, was added to get Great Island River. At the mouth of the stream, lying squarely athwart it, is an island perhaps a mile long, that was formerly known as Palmer's Island, but later has been called Watson's Island. It lies exactly where lived the Susquehanna Indians. The mainland opposite has been found to be very rich in weapons, domestic utensils, etc., many thousands of specimens having been found, and sometimes as many as a hundred in a single place. On this island was made the first white settlement in that part of Maryland some twenty-five or thirty years after Smith's visit. The Susquehanna is remarkable elsewhere for the number and size of its islands, especially in Pennsylvania. Where the Juniata flows in, exists an island of very unusual size. On the Guy Johnson map of the country of the Six Na-

tions appears a place in Pennsylvania called Great Island.*

A description of the upper valley was given in 1683 by Indian chiefs to James Graham and William Haig, agents of William Penn, who had arrived in Albany. From the Mohawk Valley to "the lake whence the Susquehanna river rises" they said the distance was "one day's journey," and from the lake "to the Susquehanna Castles," meaning the Indian towns in the Wyoming Valley, was ten days. From Oneida to "the kill which falls into the Susquehanna," this kill being the Unadilla River, was one and a half days' journey, and from the kill to its mouth was one day's journey.

* An interesting interpretation of the word Susquehanna has reached the author from the Iroquois village of Caughnawaga, above Montreal. He wrote to a French gentleman at that place to learn if the Marcoux Dictionary, preserved there in manuscript at the Jesuit Mission, could shed any light on the question. The gentleman replied that it gave none whatever, but he kindly submitted the matter to a learned abbé from another place and forwarded the abbé's reply, which is as follows, translated from the French:

"We are here inclined to think the word is a corruption of Sequana, the Latin word for the Seine. It is the opinion of M. B., who is here on vacation, opinion which for him has passed to the state of a certain truth since the adhesion of a Paulist father which has just reached us, and assures us that the Sequana of the United States has, like that of France, at its mouth a harbor called Havre de Grace, and that it was the French Huguenots who, settling in that place, brought together the name of the city and the name of the river."

To establish this theory it would be necessary to show that French Huguenots settled at the mouth of the river at a time earlier than the arrival of Smith, and proof of this is wanting. A romantic name Muddy Stream certainly is not. River with the Long Reaches is much better. Best of all is Great Island River, the name bestowed upon the stream by those who owned it. And by that name it would be both fitting and agreeable for those who love it to have it known.

II

Indian Villages in the Upper Valley

THE Indian population on the upper Susquehanna was centred in small villages. It was never large. Parkman, in reference to the whole continent, has remarked that the Indians everywhere were few and scattered Even in parts thought to be well peopled, "one might sometimes journey for days together through the twilight forest and meet no human form." Around the Susquehanna villages small clearings had usually been made. Apple-orchards had been planted and there were frequent corn-fields; but otherwise the virgin territory bore few indications that men were dwelling upon it.

The foot of Otsego Lake was a favorite resort. In that fact Cooper found the origin of the word Otsego, the particular place where meetings were held being Council Rock. A meaning cited by Campbell * is "clear, deep water," but other writers, like Morgan, pass the word by without defining it. Dr. Beauchamp gives the forms Otesaga and Osten-

* Annals of Tryon County. The author of this work, William W. Campbell, was born in Cherry Valley in 1806, and died in 1881. He was graduated from Union College, read law with Judge Kent, and practised in New York, where, in 1849, he was appointed a Justice of the Superior Court. From 1857 until 1865 he was a Judge of the State Supreme Court for the Sixth District. He also served a term in Congress. His Annals were published in 1831, and a revised edition with a new title, Border Warfare, in 1849. A third edition came out

missionaries called it Otsego Lake, which is perhaps the earliest use of the name on record. On the Augsburg map of the province, dated 1777, occurs the form "Lake Assega," which would imply that the name had then found official acceptance. Excellent hunting and fishing were here to be obtained. The first settlers on the site of Cooperstown found arrow-heads and stone hatchets in great abundance. The apple-trees were of large size. Cooper thought the place had been more or less frequented by Indian traders for a century before the regular settlement began. The English early recognized the Susquehanna as a gate-way to the South. In 1721 the King was advised to erect a fort near where the river flows out of the lake.

Remains of ancient villages on the river at points below Cooperstown have often been discovered. Small relics in considerable numbers have been preserved in private hands. Perhaps the largest collection ever made was the one destroyed in the Oneonta Normal School fire in the winter of 1892–93. It had been formed by W. E. Yager, and numbered somewhere about 1,500 specimens. It was the only loss by that fire which State appropriations have not been able to replace. In 1892 on a farm near the old Goodyear Mills was found a cup of clay that had been used for melting lead. Another find in the same place was a pipe-bowl.

When Gideon Hawley came down the valley in 1753, he found at the mouth of Schenevus Creek,* or the Charlotte, a village of some size, then inhabited and called Towanoendlough, which

* Generally said to have been named after an Indian who lived on the stream, but A. Cusick told Dr. Beauchamp that the word meant first hoeing of corn. The form Sheniba occurs on a map dated 1790.

was the frontier town of the Mohawks. Here, some years ago, in a time of flood, many signs of an Indian burial-place were washed to the surface.

Harvey Baker has described a village that existed west of the mouth of the Charlotte on the lands now owned by the Slades, and including the adjacent Beam's Island, on which is a mound supposed to contain the remains of an Indian chief named Alagatinga. An apple-orchard flourished here.

What appears to have been another rather large village stood at the mouth of Otego * Creek. It had orchards extending along the northern side of the river, embracing lands afterward known as the Van Woert, Calkins, and Stoughton Alger farms. Several miles down the river, just above the mouth of Sand Hill Creek, is a whirlpool which the Indians called Kaghneantasis, meaning where the water goes round.

About one mile below Unadilla Village on the north side of the river, long existed a heap of stones, called the Indian Monument. Gideon Hawley thought the pile was due to an Indian custom of throwing a stone to the spot when passing, as a recognition of the existence of a supreme being. William A. Fry, of Sidney, remembered that in 1830 an Indian arrived at the Hough farm to cast a stone upon the pile. The Indian said if the act were neglected by his tribe in any one year, the tribe would become extinct—a belief pointing to fear of God. A heap of stones similar to this was used by surveyors for one of the corners of Tryon County at a place now embraced in Schoharie. The stones were small and flat, and there were many thousands

* Wauteghe was the eighteenth-century form of this word. Later it was called Adiga, and then the form Atege occurs.

of them. Two miles farther down the river was an old Indian camping-ground. David McMaster, who was born there, remembered that in his boyhood arrow-heads were very common in a garden attached to his father's house.

The mouth of the Unadilla River was long a favorite resort of hunters. The hill on the Unadilla side was frequently burned over in the autumn, and hence got the name of Burnt Hill. It has since been called Mount Moses, and by that name is called in the original survey made in 1791 for the river-road running at its base. On the Sidney side of the stream, in 1772, existed an ancient fort which the Indians declared had been erected "five hundred summers ago." It contained three acres of land enclosed by a mound, and ditch.

David Cusick, the Tuscarora Indian who wrote a history of the Six Nations,* went over the site of this fort in 1800, and says it was built by Sau-rau-roh-wah, an Indian of great stature, with the strength of ten ordinary men. This giant carried on war against his enemies along the Susquehanna. He would lie in ambush near the path, "and whenever the people are passing he shoots them." He "used a plump arrow, which was so violent that it would break the body in two parts."

Sau-rau-roh-wah became so troublesome that plans were laid to destroy him. A favorite dish of his, including huckleberries, was taken to him by three warriors, and while he was eating it one of them with a club, which had been concealed under a blanket, dealt him a terrific blow on the head.

* Cusick's work is not held in esteem by historians, but is interesting as showing something of the character of Indian tradition. Parkman describes it as containing "a few grains of truth inextricably mingled with a tangled mass of absurdities."

Running out of the fort the giant rushed toward the river, but "sank in the mire which was near the bank." The warriors then overtook and killed him on the spot. They "spoiled his house and obtained a large quantity of skin, etc., and the fort was ruined ever since." Cusick attempts to fix the date of this incident, making it eight hundred or a thousand years before Columbus landed, which would mean 500 or 700 of our era. The value of these dates is of the very slightest.

Until recent years there existed at Sidney an Indian relic known as the Knoll. It was level on top, some fifteen feet high, and across the top measured about ten rods. A portion of it was irreverently carted away by the builders of the Ontario and Western Railroad, for use in rearing an embankment. Bones and other remains were found there, but they did not stay the hands of the spoilers. Directly across the river is another elevation of ground in which Indian relics have been unearthed.

The name Unadilla was originally applied not only as now to the Unadilla side of the two rivers, but to lands across them included in the towns of Sidney and Bainbridge. It was a term for all the territory adjacent to the confluence and now intersected by the boundaries of three counties. When the need arose for a more definite name for the Sidney side, the names Johnston Settlement before the Revolution, and Susquehanna Flats after it, were brought into use. These terms were employed for about thirty years, and were then superseded by the name Sidney.

One of the meanings assigned to Unadilla by local tradition is "Pleasant Valley." It has also been said to stand for some kind of a stream. The

meaning given by Morgan, our best authority, is "place of meeting," which refers to the meeting of the two streams. The word has been spelled in many ways. As in the Fort Stanwix deed, we find Tianaderha, so Gideon Hawley, in 1753, wrote Teyonadelhough. Richard Smith cites the form Tunaderrah. Other forms are Cheonadilha and Deunadilla, while Unendilla and Unideally are common. Joseph Brant, in a letter to Persefer Carr, wrote "Tunadilla." All these forms resulted from the white man's efforts to put into writing the word as pronounced by various tribes. The form Unadilla comes nearest to the Oneida dialect, which has the charm of greater softness than the others. Stone is at a loss to understand why the pioneers were not content to accept as final the spelling adopted by an educated Indian like Brant.*

Near Afton, on an island, was a village called Cunahunta, a word sometimes written Conihunto, and Gunnegunter, but most important of all these Indian settlements was Oghwaga,† where at the

* The reader will be impressed with the likeness of the form Teyonadelhough to the name of another Indian village referred to by Gideon Hawley as Towanoendalough, which also was a place where trails and streams met. A word much like it, Teondaloga, was applied by the Indians to Fort Hunter, the place where the Schoharie joins the Mohawk, the meaning of which was, where two streams come together. Another form for the Fort Hunter place is Iconderoga, which closely resembles Ticonderoga. Other words in Iroquois dialects for places at the junction of two streams are Tiorunda, now Fishkill; Tiosarande, now Luzerne, and Tiogen, now Tioga Point. Between Teyonadelhough and Teondaloga there is very close resemblance. Each is the English spelling of a Mohawk utterance, and they seem originally to have been the same word. The present spelling of Unadilla was adopted when the town was formed. In the Poor Master's book of 1793 it is written as we write it now. How long the name had been in use before Hawley used it is, of course, matter of conjecture. But it was the name of a place before it ever was applied to a stream. In 1683 the Indians called the river "the Kill which falls into the Susquehanna." The stream had obviously at that time received no name.

† Spelled in almost every conceivable manner. Among the forms are

time of the Revolution existed the largest Indian town in the valley, with an orchard, a church, a fort, and many other signs of civilization. It was long a central trading post for the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, where Indians from the Far West and South met traders from Albany and Schenectady, who, for furs, gave in exchange guns, powder, blankets, and knives. This importance of Oghwaga began very early—before 1650 I think—and probably as soon as the Dutch had become well established as traders in Albany. The Oghwaga Indians were detachments from the Mohawks, Oneidas, and other tribes, and in 1757 the place had become what Stone calls "an aboriginal Port Royal, where many of the Six Nations who had become disgusted with the politics of their several cantons were in the habit of settling."

As early as 1748 Oghwaga had become a missionary station, and in the Revolution was a head-quarters for Joseph Brant. Among the apple-trees the first settlers ploughed up many Indian bones. The apple-trees produced fruit, fair and round, and often a

Oneaquaga, Oughquagy, Onoaughquagey, Ononghquage, Auquauga, Anaquaga, Oughquogey, Anaquegha, Onaquaga, Aughquagee, Ochquaga, Aughquagey, Oquaca, Oguaga, Anaquaqua, Oquage, and Okwaha. The form Okwaho is used in the Marcoux Dictionary, which gives the meaning wolf. This was a term applied to one of the Mohawk tribes. Gideon Hawley wrote Onohoghquage. Dr. O'Callaghan employed the form Oghquaga. For the present village in the town of Colesville, the spelling is Ouaquaga. At Deposit a hotel uses for its name the form Oquaga, which is also employed for a small lake of this name. The northerly branch of the Delaware has been called the Coquago branch. Wilkinson wrote Oquago, and Washington Anaquaga. Stone adopted the form Oghkwaga. Sir William Johnson wrote Oghquago—though not always. Brant, after the battle of Minisink, used the form Oghwage. Brant was a Mohawk Indian who knew how to spell. The word is pronounced in three syllables. In order to secure such pronunciation the author has taken the liberty of converting Brant's final "e" into an "a," making it Oghwaga. A. Cusick told Dr. Beauchamp he thought the word meant place of hulled-corn soup.

pound in weight. Many curious trinkets were unearthed, and near the old castle war-implements. The Indian path over Oghwaga mountain was plainly visible for more than sixty years after the Indians ceased to travel it. These Indians formed a large tribe. In 1770 they sent one hundred and twenty-four representatives to the congress at German Flatts. In 1772 some Indians living at Oghwaga were known as the Ochtaghquanawecroones. The town lay on both sides of the river, just below a large bend in the stream. The present village of Windsor occupies a part of the site. Just below Oghwaga lay another town called Tuscarora.

The trails which followed the Susquehanna and its branches formed the great route to the south and west from Central New York. Into the most distant regions the tribes of the Iroquois from the earliest ages had gone over this highway of their own building for purposes of war, plunder, and pleasure. Along the banks of this stream trails had been deeply worn by red men's feet. Generations had passed over them, and the white man, coming later, put them to use before constructing roads of his own. In many cases the white man's roads were actually built by widening the trails, as was the case with the present road from Sidney to Unadilla on the northern side of the river and the main thoroughfare of Oneonta.*

An Indian trail, as described by Morgan, was from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and was often worn to a depth of a foot where the soil yielded readily. In time of war, trained runners were employed to carry messages to distant points. Along

* Formerly written Onoyarenton, and applied also to the creek of this name—its meaning, a stony place.

these well-worn paths relays of men were known to cover the space from Albany to Buffalo in three days. One Indian could run one hundred miles in a day. This extraordinary skill has been ascribed to the absence of horses in America before the coming of Europeans. Indians, from necessity, acquired the accomplishment of the horse. They did more. They performed feats which only the well-trained bicyclist can perform to-day. They made century runs.

The upper Susquehanna and its branches, including the Unadilla, penetrated lands in which dwelt or hunted Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas, while the Chemung penetrated the lands of the Senecas. These rivers, uniting at Tioga Point to become one river, flowed down from a large territory in which dwelt the Iroquois nations. That territory, as Morgan points out, is shaped somewhat like a triangle, of which Tioga Point is the apex, while its base is the great central trail from the Hudson to Lake Erie. Thus in Indian times, as in our own, this latter locality, the base of the triangle, possessed the greatest of all New York highways. Down these streams from the Long House of the Iroquois went almost every Indian who journeyed to the south, with Tioga the great central point of meeting.

The Susquehanna trails followed both sides of the stream; the one taking the north bank meeting at the Unadilla River the Oneida trail coming from the north. Proceeding up the Susquehanna, one trail went on to Otsego Lake and Cherry Valley, while the other followed the Charlotte,* crossing

* The Indian name of this stream was Adaquetangie. When Sir William Johnson got his patent to the valley, he changed the name to Charlotte as a compliment to the Queen of George III., Queen Victoria's grandmother.

from the head of the stream to Cobleskill * and the Schoharie, † whence a trail ran along that stream to the Lower Castle of the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, and to Albany, with a branch following Catskill Creek to the Hudson River. For the Mohawk country, the Hudson River Valley and for lands east of the Hudson, here lay the most direct route west by the Susquehanna and Ohio, and south to Chesapeake Bay. On this subject of highways a truthful and pathetic speech was made in 1847 by Peter Wilson, a Cayuga chief, before the New York Historical Society, in these words :

The Empire State, as you love to call it, was once laced by our trails from Albany to Buffalo—trails that we had trod for centuries—trails worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois that they became your roads of travel, as your possessions gradually eat into those of my people. Your roads still traverse those same lines of communication which bound one part of the Long House to the other. Have we, the first holders of this prosperous region, no longer a share in your history ? Glad were your fathers to sit down upon the threshold of the Long House. Had our forefathers spurned you from it when the French were thundering at the opposite gate to get a passage through and drive you into the sea, whatever has been the fate of other Indians, the Iroquois might still have been a nation, and I, instead of pleading here, for the privilege of living within your borders—I might have had a country.

* Originally Cobus Kill and of German origin. An Indian name for it, given by Dr. Beauchamp, is Otsgaragu, meaning Hemp Hill.

† Many forms occur in earlier writings. Dr. Beauchamp gives the meaning, driftwood.

III

The Coming of White Men

1614–1740

THE Susquehanna Valley had been visited by Europeans several years before the Pilgrim Fathers made their landing at Plymouth. When Captain Christiaensen, the sturdy Dutch navigator, in 1614, selected Albany as the site of a trading post and erected near there a fort, he acted on knowledge already acquired concerning its relation to those routes into the Indian country which converged near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson. In that year or the next, two men, of whom one was named Kleynties, set out from Fort Orange (Albany) to explore the fur country, and crossing from the Mohawk to Otsego Lake, proceeded down the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania. On the information these men secured was in part based that interesting piece of Dutch cartography called the Figurative Map, which shows not only the Connecticut, Hudson, and Mohawk rivers, but another stream, the home of "Sennecas" and "Minquas" (Mohawks).

The course of this stream, as shown on the map, does not conform to any stream we know, but there was only one river inhabited by Senecas and Mohawks beyond the river Mohawk. This was the Susquehanna and its branches. About forty years later (in 1659) another map, that of Visscher, pub-

lished at Amsterdam, gave a more accurate outline of a river which is unquestionably the upper Susquehanna and its branches. At its head, living on the shores of a lake, were men called "Canoo-makers." This lake appears to have been Otsego. On the Figurative Map is a marginal note in Dutch referring to "what Kleynties and his comrade have communicated to me respecting the locality of the rivers and the positions of the tribes which they found in their expedition from the Maquaas into the interior and along the new river down to the Ogehage." * At the latter place lived enemies of the Iroquois. The "new river" was the Delaware.

Another Dutchman soon explored the country farther south, one Hendrickson, Christiaensen's successor in command of the ship, who made discovery of "certain lands, a bay and three rivers" between the 38th and 40th degrees of parallel, making report as follows to the States General in August, 1616:

> And did there trade with the inhabitants; said trade consisting of sables, furs, robes and other skins. He also traded for and bought from the Minquaes † three persons, being people belonging to this company, which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks and Mahicans, giving for them kettles, beads, and merchandise.

A visit to the head-waters of the Susquehanna was made in 1616 by Stephen Bruehle, whose purpose was part of a larger purpose entertained by the Dutch at that time to secure Indian warriors to aid them in a conflict with the French, who were then pressing down from Canada. From these warlike

* The Figurative Map was found in the archives at The Hague in 1841.

† A Mohawk village appears on the Figurative Map, near the mouth of the Susquehanna.

preparations dates the beginning of that alliance between the Six Nations and the white men of New York around which so much history thenceforth for a century and a half was to revolve. From it dates also the Indians' familiarity with fire-arms.

During the Dutch domination and the first years of English rule, many traders came into the valley. As the century was rounding well into its last quarter, not only the English at Albany, but an Englishman farther south, William Penn, began to show new and livelier interest in the territory. By that time its value in the fur trade had been amply demonstrated. When Dongan came over as Governor, new energy at once was infused into the administration. In 1683 Commissioners at Albany obtained for him an account of the river and its relations to the Indian settlements, their information coming from Europeans, or "Christians," as white men were then called, as well as from Indians. The Commissioners recommended that regular traders be sent out, to form camps or settlements along the valley. It was argued that these places would be much nearer the Indians than Albany was, "and consequently the Indians more inclinable to go there." The recommendation in part sprang from a desire to thwart certain efforts made by Penn to increase his trade, and in part from a desire to accede to the requests of Indians, but in the main Penn's ambition was the moving cause.

In a short time adventurous young men set out on journeys to the interior. Dongan, in 1686, requested the Indians to see that "neither French nor English go and live at the Susquehanna River, nor hunt nor trade amongst the brethren without my

pass and seal." Should any be found without such passports, he desired the Indians to "bring them to Albany and deliver them at the Town House, where care shall be taken for punishing them." He would not make exception in cases of white men married to squaws, "they being only spies upon the brethren." The reply was that "we dare not meddle therewith, for a man whose goods are taken from him will defend himself, which may create trouble or war." In the following year Dongan desired to secure royal authority for erecting "a campagne fort" upon the Susquehanna River, "where his Majesty shall think fit Mr. Penn's bounds shall terminate," and Dongan's ideas as to this point favored Wyalusing.*

Of the men sent out in Dongan's time we do not know the names. We have, however, the names of two men who, on June 7, 1701, crossed the western branch of the Unadilla River, then called Eghwagy Creek. They were David Schuyler and Captain Johannas Bleeker. They were not traders, but delegates on their way from Albany to Onondaga charged with counteracting French intrigues.

The next earliest names are those of German settlers, who in large companies, on three occasions, and perhaps four, passed down the valley on their way to Pennsylvania. They formed part of that large body of Palatines who have left so deep an impression on the Mohawk and Schoharie countries. They had originally left their homes on the Rhine in consequence of the devastation attending the wars of Louis XIV. In England they had met the five Indian chiefs taken over by Mayor Schuyler, who

* Dr. Beauchamp's rendering of this word is Home of the Old Warrior.

offered them land in America, and Queen Anne, who had given them food and shelter, advanced the money to pay their expenses across the sea.

Late in the year 1709, to the number of about 4,000, they set sail, and lived successively in New York, Livingston Manor, and Schenectady, a hundred and fifty families in 1714 taking up lands at a place called Weiserdorp, which is now known as Middleburg, in Schoharie County. These families were in a state of great poverty. One "borrowed a horse here, another there; also a cow and plow harness," and during the first year they "made many meals on the wild potatoes and ground beans that grew in great abundance." A moving spirit among them was the elder Conrad Weiser.

When trouble arose over titles to their Schoharie lands, which were claimed by Robert Livingston and others, a serious wrangle ensued, resulting in the sending of a sheriff from New York to Weiserdorp, a village of forty huts, constructed of logs, earth, and bark. A hostile reception awaited him, one of the incidents of which was an attack by a mob of women, led by Magdalene Zee (or Zeh), who carried the sheriff some distance on a rail, broke his ribs by pounding him with clubs, and otherwise did violence to him, the full details of which the present generation would not tolerate in print.

The Germans concluded to submit the matter to the English sovereign, and three men, including Weiser, were sent to London. While at sea, the ship was attacked by pirates and Weiser "three times tied up and floged, but would not confess to having money." On arrival, they found that Queen Anne had died and that news of their attack on the sheriff had seriously prejudiced their case. One of

Weiser's companions sailed for home in disgust and died at sea, while Weiser and the other were arrested and sent to prison—perhaps to the Tower, for Brown says Weiser spent a year in that ancient castle. On being released the two men quarrelled. Weiser's son says the trouble was they "both had hard heads."

Dissatisfaction in Schoharie grew apace and finally a general migration set in for Conestoga, Pa. The route chosen was the Charlotte and Susquehanna rivers. Thirty families are said by Rupp to have gone down in the summer of 1723, "a few months before Weiser's return." Some fifty others followed in 1725 and in 1729 another company departed.

At the mouth of the Charlotte they built canoes with which to make the remainder of the journey, felling trees for the purpose. The tree-stumps were long remembered by Susquehanna settlers for their association with this migration. Twenty-five years later when Sir William Johnson applied for a patent he wished it to begin "where the Germans made their canoes to go to Conestoga." Household goods were transported in the canoes, and the horses and cattle driven along the Indian trail. Brown says deliberately that after reaching Conestoga, twelve horses broke from their stable and wandered away. A year and a half later ten of them were found at Weiserdorp, three hundred miles from Conestoga.

The younger Conrad Weiser, who made this journey, says there was want of leadership. Each man did as he pleased, "and their obstanacy has stood in their way ever since." Young Weiser rose to considerable eminence in Pennsylvania as an Indian agent, and his services to the Government were so important that Washington, standing at his grave

in 1793, remarked that these services had been rendered in a difficult period and posterity would not forget him.

The migration from Schoharie had an important influence on the future population of Pennsylvania and New York. Had these Palatines fared better in Schoharie, it is not unlikely that the upper Susquehanna Valley would have been first peopled by that race instead of the Scotch-Irish, but the Palatines were not slow to inform their friends in the old country of their experience in New York and to advise them to settle in Pennsylvania instead. Many of the Palatines never left Schoharie however, and many others remained to found thriving settlements along the valley of the Mohawk, of which enduring evidence survives in the geographical nomenclature. From that pioneer stock came the central patriotic figure in the battle of Oriskany—General Nicholas Herkimer.

About 1722 young men sent out by Governor Burnet had reached Oghwaga. Fifteen years later the importance of the valley as a highway to the South and West had become fully understood. In 1737 Cadwallader Colden, the Surveyor-General of the province, made an official report showing the importance that he attributed to it. "Goods may be carried," he said, "from this lake (Otsego) in battoes or flat-bottom vessels through Pennsylvania to Maryland and Virginia, the current of the river running everywhere easy without any cataracts in all that long space." After describing the east and west branches of the Susquehanna, he added that "by either of these branches goods may be carried to the mountains, and I am told that the passage through the mountains to branches of the Mississippi which

issue on the west side of these mountains is neither long nor difficult, by which means inland navigation may be had to the Bay of Mexico." Twenty-five years later, at the close of the French War, Pouchot described the Susquehanna as "navigable almost from its source," and as "flowing through a beautiful valley filled with very fine timber."

It was not until the time of Johnson's trade activity that men with large purposes were regularly established on the river. Johnson's policy in sending his agents to Oghwaga, which he preferred to Oswego because of the absence of competition, resulted in its own reward. He became the most successful trader in the province.

Johnson was a native of Ireland and a nephew of Sir Peter Warren, the owner of a large tract of land at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek, in what is now the town of Florida. Johnson had become Warren's agent, and had engaged in the fur trade on his own account. Unlike the average trader of that time, Johnson was honest and fair in his dealings. Conspicuous for humanity, he won the regard of the Indians very early, and he retained it through life. He married a German wife, and soon found himself on the road to great success as a man of business. In 1739 he made plans for his trading post at Oghwaga. From this place trained agents were sent out along the net-work of trails, making contracts with the Indians at their own door—a method giving him vast advantage over the men who did business with Indians at Albany and Schenectady.

Albany had become very unpopular with the Indians. The younger Weiser records a conversation he once had with an Onondaga chief named Canas-

satego. "You know our practice," said the chief; "if a white man in travelling through our country enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I do you. We dry him, if he is wet; we warm him if he is cold; and give him meat and drink that he may allay his hunger and thirst, and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house in Albany and ask for victuals and drink, they say, 'where is your money?' and if I have none they say, 'get out, you Indian dog.'"

There is no dearth of testimony to show that Indians fared badly in bargains made at Albany. Peter Kalm, an observing traveller, who visited Albany in the middle of the eighteenth century, says, "many persons have assured me that the Indians are frequently cheated in disposing of their goods, especially when they are in liquor, and that sometimes they do not get one-half or one-tenth of the value of their goods. I have been witness to several transactions of this kind." He refers to the "avarice and selfishness of the inhabitants of Albany" as well known. Few of the great fur traders have survived with good reputations. Parkman says many of them were "ruffians of the coarsest stamp, who vied with each other in rapacity, violence, and profligacy." They "cheated, cursed, and plundered the Indians and outraged their families." Johnson was a very conspicuous exception to this too general rule.

PART II

Missionaries and the French War

1650–1769

I

Jesuits and Church of England Men

1650–1746

AFTER the first explorers, seeking to extend the fur trade, came the Jesuits, interested in promoting the spiritual welfare of the savages. The traders came from Fort Orange and New Amsterdam, the missionaries from the ancient St. Lawrence settlements of New France. Before 1650 these devoted men from the great northern valley had arrived on territory now a part of New York State, bringing with them stout and enterprising souls. Morgan declares that the zeal and devotion which they displayed are "unsurpassed in the history of Christianity." They "traversed the forests of America alone and unprotected; they dwelt in the depths of the wilderness without shelter and almost without raiment; they passed the ordeal of Indian captivity and the fire of the torture; they suffered from hunger and violence, but in the midst of all they never forgot the mission with which they were intrusted."

Several of these men acquired distinction that has made their labors a part of American history. Among them were Isaac Jogues, Bruyar, Le Jeune, Brébeuf and Garnier. Later came Peter Milet, who had marked success with the Oneidas, among whom he passed many years, securing a firm hold on their devotion. While it is not unlikely that Jogues saw

some of the head-waters of the Susquehanna, for here were Mohawk hunting grounds, it is more probable that Jacques Bruyar actually came into that valley. He lived many years alternately among the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Mohawks, and was in the Iroquois lands for more than thirty years before the eighteenth century began. It was the fate of these missionaries to lead roving lives like the Indians whom they sought to convert; they adopted Indian dress and names, and were often supposed to be Indians, circumstances which must have taken more than one of them on journeys along the Susquehanna trails. Campbell says they often went with the Indians on distant and hazardous expeditions, where they "astonished their savage audiences with the splendor and imposing rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church."

The life of Father Jogues, better than perhaps any other story, illustrates the truth of Morgan's tribute. Made a captive by the Mohawks and taken to their valley, he was forced to undergo the terrible ordeal of running the gauntlet—"a narrow road to Paradise," Jogues called it. His left thumb was cut off by a woman who used a clam-shell for the purpose. He was made to lie all night on his back, with his feet and hands outstretched and tied to stakes, and while in this position children were allowed to place hot ashes and coals on his body. He was led in triumph from village to village, and in each was newly tortured. As he accompanied his captors to their hunting grounds, "shivering and half famished," says Parkman, "he followed them through the chill November forest and shared their wild bivouac in the depths of the wintry desolation." Because he would not partake of meat, chosen as

an offering to one of their heathen divinities, he "starved in the midst of plenty." At night, when the savages made merry around their fire, he "crouched in a corner of the hut, gnawed by hunger and pierced to the bone with cold. He brought them fire wood like a squaw; he did their bidding without a murmur and patiently bore their abuse." Huron Indians, captives like himself, he converted. Ears of unhusked corn wet with dew were thrown to him for food, and with this dew he baptized his converts. Parkman adds that in a remote and lonely spot he "cut the bark in the form of a cross from the trunk of a great tree, and here he made his prayers."

Through the help of Corlear, a noble-hearted Dutchman, and of Dominie Megapolensis, Father Jogues finally escaped. He went to France, and Anne of Austria, the Queen, summoned him to her presence. This mother of Louis, the Sun King, "kissed his mutilated hands, while ladies thronged round to do him homage." Owing to his deformity of body, caused by torture, Jogues was unable to say mass. His case having been laid before the Pope, a special dispensation restored to him the sacred and cherished privilege. Father Jogues then returned to Canada, and the Jesuits again sent him into the Mohawk country, where he now met his fate. While entering an Indian house, to which he had been invited as a guest, he was barbarously murdered. The scene of this tragedy was near the present town of Auriersville. Parkman pronounces Jogues "one of the purest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which the western world has seen."

Another Jesuit, who became a captive, was Joseph Bressani. In July, 1644, he wrote from the Iro-

quois country to the General of the Jesuits in Rome: "I do not know if your Paternity will recognize the handwriting of one whom you once knew very well. The letter is soiled and ill written; because the writer has only one finger of his right hand left entire, and cannot prevent the blood from his wounds, which are still open, from staining the paper. His ink is gun-powder mixed with water and his table is the earth."

Jogues, Milet, Bruyar, and Bressani belonged to an early and disinterested generation. Their eulogist, Parkman, shows that the Jesuits who came in later times had not the same apostolic simplicity. More properly they were the political agents of France, with eyes on the affairs of two worlds. For more than fifty years the English had to combat their influence, and in doing so sought aid from Protestant missionaries who really came to have an important share in the great struggle between Latin and Anglo-Saxon forces for supremacy.

First among Protestants in the Mohawk country was Megapolensis, who, before closing his labors, had learned the language, preached in it fluently, and made many converts. He began his work at Albany about 1642 and served six years. Megapolensis says he preached also "in the neighborhood," and the Indians had been pleased to hear he intended going into "their own country and castles (about three days' journey farther inland) when acquainted with their language."

From the time of Megapolensis until Governor Dongan came over, was a generation, and not until Dongan's time was vigorous work undertaken. In 1687 Dongan asked the Indians not to "receive any French priests any more, having sent for English

priests whom you can be supplied with all to content." In the same decade, in his request to the Indians to arrest unauthorized Susquehanna traders, Dongan made an exception in the case of "the priests and one man with each or either of them." Dongan, although a Romanist, was opposed to the Jesuits, being an English Governor first, and a Romanist afterward. He was the first English Governor who interfered with the Jesuits, and he violated his instructions in so doing. But he gave evidence of that clear understanding of French intrigue and its dangers which another Irishman, William Johnson, was to have a better opportunity of putting into practice sixty years afterward.

Dongan desired James II. to send out five or six priests to live at the Indian castles, since by this means French priests "will be obliged to return to Canada, whereby the French will be divested of their pretences to the country and then we shall enjoy that trade without any fear of its being diverted." He proposed that three priests continually travel from one Indian village to another. Though his design did not fully succeed, he made some headway with it. By 1687 he had successfully uprooted some of the French missions. That his conduct was statesmanlike, events that followed in the ensuing struggle amply proved. A few years after his time (in 1700) the Legislative Council of the province took up the war Dongan had begun and passed "an act against Jesuits and Popish priests."

One of the Protestants of Dongan's time was Dr. Dellius, a Dutchman. He was among the Mohawks before 1691, and baptized numbers of them. For his services he was allowed $300 in 1693, with a further sum for an interpreter. At Schenectady

labored Bernardus Freeman, a Calvinist, who, in 1701, reported that out of one hundred Mohawks, thirty-five were Christians. Mr. Freeman made a translation into Mohawk of the Ten Commandments, the Athanasian Creed, and parts of the Prayer Book. His version was printed in New York in 1715.

Work assumed a more systematic form in the new century. A petition was forwarded to London asking that ministers of the Church of England be sent to "instruct the Indians and prevent their being practised upon by the French priests and Jesuits." Six clergymen were proposed, one for each nation, with two young men to attend them.

Four years later the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent out the Rev. Mr. Smith and the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, each of whom was allowed £20 for his outfit and £100 as yearly salary, with £30, given by Queen Anne, for his passage. Of Mr. Smith nothing more is known, but Mr. Moor reached the field of his labors among the Mohawks and remained three years. He had little success and set sail for England, but was never heard from again. He has been credited with the authorship of the first book printed in the Mohawk tongue, "Another Tongue brought in to Confess the Great Saviour of the World," which traders were expected to distribute. After Mr. Moor, came Thomas Barclay, who remained from 1708 until 1712, and has historic rank as the first rector of St. Peter's Church in Albany.

When Queen Anne's war closed, in 1712, the Rev. William Andrews, who had already been in the country and knew something of the Mohawk

language, came over and spent three years among the Mohawks and Oneidas. With money supplied by Queen Anne, a fort one hundred and fifty feet square was built at the Mohawk castle known afterward as Fort Hunter, with a block-house at each corner and quarters for twenty men. The Indians built a school-house thirty feet long and twelve wide, and from distant places prepared to have children sent for instruction. At one time Mr. Andrews had twenty children at this school, between sixty and seventy regular attendants at church, and when all the Indians were at home, as many as one hundred and fifty attendants, of whom thirty-eight were communicants.

Andrews came out to teach the Oneidas as well as the Mohawks, and bore as his credentials a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In going to the Oneidas he passed over one hundred miles "through a vast wilderness of woods" and along a narrow Indian path. Wherever he labored the great difficulty was to overcome the demoralizing influence of hunting expeditions in which boys as well as men engaged. Mr. Andrews complained that nothing he did seemed to last. An evil influence was exerted by Dutch traders who falsely told the Indians he would claim one-tenth of all they had. He describes the Indians as a "sordid, mercenary, beggardly people, having but little sense of religion, honor or goodness among them; living generally filthy, brutish lives;" and being of such "inhuman savage natures" as to kill and eat each other. "Heathen they are," he said, "and heathen they will still be." Mr. Andrews returned in 1718. At St. Peter's Church in Albany, has long been preserved an interesting relic of his time—a set

of church plate given by Queen Anne in 1712, for use among the Onondagas, while at Fort Hunter may be seen a stone rectory of the same period.

Queen Anne's interest in the Indians dated from the visit of several of their kings to London, in 1709–10. They were taken over by Colonel Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, a man of fortune, public spirit, and great influence among the Indians, who knew him always as "Quidder," the nearest approach they could make to pronunciation of his name. France at that time was making serious inroads against the English in New York. A critical time had come in that century-long contest between two civilizations for supremacy in the New World. Colonel Schuyler made this visit at his own expense in order to urge the English Government to take more vigorous measures against the French. Marked interest was shown in the Indians. They became the lions of social and public life, and at Court were received with all the honors of elaborate ceremonial.

In 1731 the Rev. John Miln, who, in 1728, had become rector of St. Peter's, engaged to visit the Mohawks four times a year and to remain five days on each visit. He appointed the Rev. Henry Barclay catechist at Fort Hunter. By 1741, in two towns Barclay had five hundred Indians under his influence, of whom fifty-eight were communicants. In 1743, only a few unbaptized ones remained. Two years later war with France interfered with this work. The French laid the frontier in ashes, took one hundred prisoners, and the county of Albany, that had been populous and flourishing, became a scene of desolation. After the war closed, in 1746,

the Rev. John Ogilvie, a graduate of Yale College, who had studied theology under the Bishop of London and became rector of St. Peter's in Albany in 1750, went into the country, and labored there periodically for many years "amid great discouragements and in the very outskirts of civilization." An assistant in his work was the Rev. John Jacob Oel, a Palatine, who remained until the Revolution began. He was long settled at Canajoharie, but labored also among the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, many of whom he baptized. Mr. Oel in the Susquehanna Valley found rivals in the Non-conformists from New England, against whom he made complaints.*

After Mr. Ogilvie, came to St. Peter's the Rev. Henry Munro, who labored among the Mohawks until 1770, when his missionary duties were transferred to a resident clergyman, the Rev. John Stuart, of whom more will be read in a later chapter of this work. Just at the close of Mr. Munro's labors he dedicated at Canajoharie the chapel for the Indians, which Sir William Johnson erected there and which still stands.

* Brown refers to a place "called by the Indians Awquawge (Oghwaga) where the first Gospel was taught unto the Indians, by one Elisha Gan." He gives no date however.

II

Missionaries from New England

1745–1748

AFTER the Church of England missionaries came the Non-conformists. First on the list in influence on the Susquehanna Valley is the Rev. John Sergeant, who, at Stockbridge, Mass., in 1736, had founded an Indian mission with Timothy Woodbridge serving as conductor of a school for Indian boys. Sergeant had been engaged by the Boston Commissioners of the Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel, and during fourteen years had given much faithful devotion to the cause. He not only taught Indians in and near Stockbridge but went elsewhere seeking fields of labor. On one of these tours, made in 1744, he visited the Susquehanna Valley. He was in a sense the pioneer New England missionary in this field.

In the neighboring town of Northampton, then lived Jonathan Edwards, who had shown much interest in the Indians, several of whom he had taught. No man more than he had encouraged the noble and successful David Brainerd in his work on the frontier of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania between the years 1744 and 1747. Brainerd's labors in the main were on the Delaware near the site of Easton, but he labored also on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. In 1745 he appears to have gone to Oghwaga, since he preached on the

Susquehanna to Indians whom he had known at Stockbridge.

In those days, at Edwards's house lived the Rev. Elihu Spencer. Brainerd, while in Boston in the very last stages of consumption, recommended Spencer to the Commissioners, who wished to settle a missionary in the upper Susquehanna Valley. Almost the last letters Brainerd wrote related to Spencer's coming. In 1748, just after Brainerd breathed his last, Spencer set out on his journey. Thus we have Sergeant, Brainerd, and Spencer as the forerunners of that numerous company who in the succeeding twenty-five years made these lands the scene of busy endeavors.

For the coming of these men credit belongs to Sir William Johnson. As early as Henry Barclay's time, Oghwaga had become a centre of English influence. Near Fort Hunter, where Barclay had his post, Johnson was then living, and in 1746, when war with France began anew, Johnson opened communication with the Indians at Oghwaga, secured their friendship, and sent them belts. To a council in Albany he was able at this time to summon sixty Oghwaga warriors, "with the usual train of old men, women and children," who came up in charge of Captain Vrooman and Captain Staats. The warriors said they knew several roads to Canada, and wished "to see the hatchet that we may grasp it." Fourteen of them were at once despatched against the enemy in a company of sixty men.

When Mr. Spencer arrived in 1748, he therefore came to a savage people who were not strangers to English influence, religious, as well as political and military. He was a young man of twenty-seven, a graduate of Yale, and from Brainerd had learned

some of the rudiments of the Indian language. In 1748 he had been ordained, and in September, the war with France having come to a temporary close, went to Oghwaga. He remained until spring, and became very much interested in his work, although he had limited success. He made slow progress with the language. "Though I was very desirous of learning the Indian tongue," he afterward said, "yet through my short residence at Ononghquage and the surly disposition of my interpreter, I confess my proficiency was not great." But he acquired enough knowledge to enable him to make a translation of the Lord's Prayer. It is as follows:

Soūngwâūnēhă, cāuroŭnkyāwgă, tēhsēētărōan, saŭhsŏnĕyōŭstă, ēsă, săwănēyŏu, ŏkĕttāūhsĕlă, ēhnĕāūwoūng, nā, cāuroŭnkyāwgă, nūghwōnshāūga, nēättĕwĕhnĕsălāūga, taŭguăunăutōrŏnoăntoūgsick, toăntaŭgwĕlēēwhĕyōustaūng, chĕnēēyeŭt, chāquătaūtēhwhĕyoŭstaūnnă, toūghsaŭ, tāugwăussărēnēh, tāuăutŏltĕnăugăloūghtōunggă, năsāwnĕ, săchĕaŭtāūgwāss, coăntēhsălōhāunzāickăw, ēsă, săwăunnēyou, ēsă, săshāutztă, esă, sōūngwāsoŭng, chēnnĕaŭhāūngwā, āuwĕn.

Among Spencer's converts were two Indians who long remained faithful allies and assistants to the missionaries who followed him to Oghwaga—Peter Agwrondougwas, known as "Good Peter," and Isaac Dakayenensese. Peter was the chief of the Oneidas, and had been born on the Susquehanna. His greatest gift was oratory, in which he had no superior in his time among the Iroquois.

From the correspondence of Edwards it appears that Spencer "went through many difficulties and hardships, with little or no success." His interpreter was "a woman that had formerly been a captive among the Caughnauwaga Indians in Canada, who

speak the same language with those Oneidas, except with some small variation of dialect." Edwards explains further in regard to the interpreter, who was Mrs. Benjamin Ashley:

> She went with her husband, an Englishman, and is one of the people we here call Separatists; who showed the spirit he was of there in that wilderness beyond what we knew before. He differed with and opposed Mr. Spencer in his measures and had an ill influence on his wife who, I fear, was very unfaithful, refusing to interpret for Mr. Spencer more than one discourse in a week, a sermon upon the Sabbath, and utterly declined assisting him in discourses and conversations in the week-time. And her interpretations on the Sabbath were performed very unfaithfully, as at last appeared.

Spencer's short residence at Oghwaga was followed five years later by a missionary expedition, which is better known, and has often through mistake been accepted as the earliest of such enterprises in this valley—the one led by Gideon Hawley and Timothy Woodbridge. That Spencer had no share in it is explained by the fact that in the meantime he had left New England and become settled as pastor over a Presbyterian church in Elizabeth, N. J. He was afterward settled in Jamaica, L. I., and finally in Trenton, where he remained from 1769 until 1784, the year of his death. From 1752 until his death, he was a guardian of Princeton College. He was a facile extempore speaker, and his talents in that direction earned for him the familiar appellation of "ready money Spencer." His native place was East Haddam, Conn., and he was a brother of General Spencer of the Revolution.

III

Gideon Hawley's Coming

1753

WITH the close of the war in 1748, missionary work at Stockbridge was taken up with new vigor. In Timothy Woodbridge's school, in the following year, were fifty-five students, including several from Oghwaga. At the same time a school for Mohawks was in charge of Captain Kellogg, with Kellogg's sister, Mrs. Ashley, serving as interpreter. In 1750 some twenty Mohawks had arrived, and in 1751 about twenty more, including the celebrated King Hendrick, who a few years later was killed in the battle of Lake George.

In 1749 the mission at Stockbridge lost its leader by the death of Sergeant. Edwards was chosen to succeed him, but this was not until 1751. The mission then contained 218 Indians, of whom 182 had been baptized, and 42 were communicants. Edwards, in the year of his appointment, attended the great Indian council which met in Albany. Here he learned how concerned the English had become in regard to the growth of French influence. The younger Conrad Weiser had heard at Onondaga that a Jesuit had converted one hundred men and taken them to Montreal, where they received as presents gorgeous coats and hats ornamented with silver and gold. Sir Peter Warren, Johnson's uncle, then one of the leading men on Manhattan

Island, gave the Stockbridge school $3,500, and Johnson had been directed to use his influence to aid it all he could.

After Edwards's return from Albany, Gideon Hawley arrived at Stockbridge and was placed in charge of one of the schools. Woodbridge, who had known Brainerd intimately, and had now been ten years at Stockbridge, had the other. Both teachers were popular with the Indians, and especially with the Mohawks and Oneidas; but a resident trustee, in his ambition to divert society funds from the proper channels, seriously impaired the usefulness of the school, and the Indians, becoming dissatisfied, resolved to return to New York. Some of these Indians had gone to Stockbridge from Oghwaga after Spencer's return, having "manifested a thirst for Christian knowledge." One was named Jonah and another Sharrack.

In these circumstances it was decided that Hawley and Woodbridge should themselves go to Oghwaga, at which place Edwards told the Boston Commissioners the hope for successful work mainly lay. The chief seat of missionary operations was to be "the country about Oghwaga near the head of the Susquehanna river." Edwards wrote further:

> All but one or two of them are of the nation of the Oneidas and they appear not to be looked upon as contemptible by the rest of the Five Nations: * from what was openly said of them at a public council by the sachems of the Mohawks who advised us to treat the Oghwagas with care and kindness as excelling their own tribe in religion and virtue, giving at the same time many instances of their virtue. Oghwaga is within the territory of the Six Nations

* The Iroquois were now the Six Nations, the Tuscaroras having entered the League thirty years before Edwards wrote.

and not so far from the other settlements but that it may be convenient for making excursions to the other tribes: as convenient perhaps as any place that can be found. It lies in a pleasant, fruitful country, surrounded by many settlements of Indians on every side and where the way is open by easy passage down the river which runs through one of the most pleasant and fruitful parts of America for four hundred or five hundred miles, exceedingly well peopled on both sides and on its several branches by Indians. Oghwaga is on the road by which several of the nations pass as they go to war with Southern nations. There are several towns of the Oneidas and several missionaries might probably find sufficient employment in those parts.

Hawley finally departed on his mission, in May, 1753. He left Stockbridge in company with Woodbridge, Ashley, and Mrs. Ashley, the latter destined soon to die at the mission. Hawley says Ashley was taken along from necessity, but he proved to be "a fanatic and on that account unfit to be employed in the mission." They were to go "about one hundred miles beyond any settlement of Christian people." Before leaving the Mohawk Valley, introduced probably by Edwards, they "at sunset," says Hawley, "were politely received at Colonel Johnson's gate by himself in person. Here we lodged. It was favorable to our mission to have his patronage which I never lost." Here also they met several Indians who lived at Oghwaga, and Hawley mentions two ministers who were settled near Johnson's house, one of whom, a Calvinist, seems to have been the Rev. William Johnston who afterward founded the settlement at Sidney.

From the Schoharie country the expedition crossed the hills to the Susquehanna, having obtained, besides a man with a horse to carry two sacks

of flour, three or four "blacks" to accompany them. They also had a "fellow named Pallas, a vagrant Indian, whose company we had reason to regret but could not refuse upon our mission." Hawley says the road "was generally obstructed by fallen trees, old logs, miry places, pointed rock and entangling roots." They were "alternately on the ridge of a lofty mountain and in the depths of the valley."

Finally they came to rivulets which poured their waters into the Susquehanna. By one of these they halted, kindled a fire, made their prayers, and passed the night sleeping on the bare earth rolled up in blankets. Late on the following day they reached Towanoendalough, where was a village of "three wigwams and about thirty souls." Here the Susquehanna was first seen, and its size disappointed them, as well it might, since here the stream is scarcely more than a creek. They lodged in "a little store house set on crotches six feet or more from the ground." *

At Towanoendalough the party were joined by a trader named George Winedecker and a companion, who had come down from Otsego Lake with a boat-load of goods, including rum, and were bound for Oghwaga and the intermediate Indian villages. The ill effects of Winedecker's rum were soon to be seen. During the night spent at Towanoendalough the party were awakened by the "howling of the Indians over their dead," and in the morning saw Indian women "skulking in the adjacent bushes for

* As Hawley had an Indian guide, we may assume that he followed one of the trails which ran into the Susquehanna from the Schoharie Valley. Thus he might have crossed over to the upper waters of the Charlotte, as the Palatines had done twenty years before, or proceeded to the head of Schenevus Creek, descending which he would have reached the river near Colliers, following the present course of the railroad.

fear of the intoxicated Indians who were drinking deeper." These women were carefully hiding guns, hatchets, and other dangerous weapons.

From this point to Oghwaga was a journey of three days, "and how bad the travelling is we cannot tell," said Hawley. "Some went by water and others by land with the horses. I went with the land party." In Winedecker's boat went Woodbridge and the interpreter, and in a canoe purchased at this place were sent the provisions and baggage. The half-intoxicated Indians "pursued the party by water in which was Mr. Woodbridge and the party by land. One came so near us with a club as to strike at us and he hit one of our horses." At Wauteghe they found fruit-trees and a tract of cleared land extending along the river, but there were no inhabitants to be seen. Hawley had a narrow escape from death at the hands of Pallas, who was handling a loaded gun when in liquor. Pallas was aiming to shoot some ducks and fired very close to Hawley. Hawley was always inclined to think Pallas intended to kill him. This incident occurred twelve miles below Wauteghe, "where a small stream empties into the river." The horses were turned out to graze for the night, but by morning three or four of them had returned to Wauteghe.

On the following day, when the horses had been recovered, the party proceeded six or eight miles farther, and stopped at Kaghneantasis or the whirlpool, "because there was herbage for our horses." Next day they arrived at Unadilla, and about noon passed "a considerable village, some families of which were of the Houssautunnuk Indians." As it was Sunday, Winedecker was not

permitted to land. The Indians "stood on the banks and beheld us." Pallas was sent ashore at this point and his services dispensed with. From the Northwest, says Hawley, "a stream here rolls into Susquehanna." Its name was "Teyonadelhough." They landed five or six miles farther down and put up for the night. Oghwaga mountain was sighted the next day, and then Hawley knew his journey was nearly ended. He arrived near nightfall, the weather cold and wet. A cordial welcome came from the Indians, but the accommodations for living were rude and unwholesome.

On the following day, June 5th, "many were worse for the rum that came with us," and one of the horses injured an Indian boy. The Indians became enraged at this and made threats against the whole party, but in the afternoon "came chiefs of the Oghwagas and assured us that these insulting and ill-behaved Indians did not belong to them, but were foreigners." These chiefs had come up from the lower settlement. Hawley says he opened a treaty with the chiefs "upon the affairs of our advent and the importance of our business in every way."

All in all, it was a singular expedition that went to Oghwaga, this mixed band of missionaries, traders, and Indians. Here were red men who had expressed a desire for religious teaching; here were red men with a fatal fondness for strong drink, and here, in one party journeying down the valley, were missionaries with the Bible and a trader with the rum—the two gifts of the white man to the Indian. It soon became apparent that the work at Oghwaga which needed attention first was the red man's fondness for fire-water. Woodbridge, a few weeks later,

returned to Albany and carried with him a speech which the Indians had desired him to present to William Johnson. In part it is as follows, and its pathos cannot escape the reader:

My brother Col. Johnson, hear me now. We are both nations together under one head at Oghwaga. My brother Warraghiyagey,* here we are assembled under one head. I say, hear me now. The Governor and great men have took pity on us and come so far to bring us to light and religion that we may go straight. My brother, my dear brother, pity us: your batteau is often here at our place and brings us rum and that has undone us. Sometimes on Sunday our people drink and cannot attend their duty, which makes it extremely difficult. But now we have cut it off: we have put a stop to it.

You must not think one man or a few men have done it; we all of us both old and young have done it. It is done by the whole. My brother, I would have you tell the great men at Albany, Schenectady and Schoharie not to bring us any more rum. I would have you bring us powder, lead and clothing which we want and other things what you please; only do not bring us any more liquors.

*The name by which the Indians called Johnson after they had adopted him.

IV

War Interrupts Mr. Hawley's Work

1756

MR. HAWLEY had not been long at Oghwaga when a new conflict arose with the French. Johnson in 1751 had made striking headway in his efforts to cement the Indian attachment, but in 1754 so grave was the outlook, that another and greater council, in reality a congress, was called at Albany, to which were invited delegates from all the colonies in America. Stone calls this "the most august assembly which up to that time had ever been held in the western world." Its primary object was to make still stronger the alliance with the Six Nations, but in American history it has other rank and eminence. At this congress was brought to official attention the famous Plan of Union, mainly drawn up by Franklin, which in an organic sense marks the beginning of the history of the United States. John Bigelow has characterized it as "the first coherent scheme ever propounded for securing a permanent federal union of the thirteen colonies."

England rejected the plan because of its democratic features, and the colonies because it had too much regard for the royal prerogative. Acceptance of it would unquestionably have saved both lands a world of direst trouble, but the name of Washington

scarcely could have been known to history. At this congress Gouldsborough Banyar, the Deputy Secretary of the Council of the Province, who afterward had large landed possessions in the Susquehanna Valley, acted as one of the secretaries, and Martin Kellogg was an interpreter, in which capacity Kellogg also saw service at Oghwaga. Indians from Oghwaga were present.

Hawley early realized the risk that attended his stay in the valley, but he remained at his post more than a year longer. Not until war was actually in progress did he depart. A son of Jonathan Edwards, Jonathan, Jr., then only ten years old, who, at his father's desire, had spent six months with Hawley, learning the Oneida tongue, was, however, sent home. For a part of the distance an Indian carried the boy on his back.

Thirty years afterward, when this boy had become President of Union College, he published a book on Indian languages, in which he referred to his experience among the Indians. When he was six years of age his father had removed with his family to Stockbridge, which at that time was inhabited by Indians almost solely. Indians being the nearest neighbors, he "constantly associated with them; their boys were my daily schoolmates and playfellows. Out of my father's house I seldom heard any language spoken besides the Indian. By these means I acquired knowledge of that language and a great facility in speaking it. It became more familiar to me than my native tongue. I knew the names of some things in Indian which I did not know in English: even all my thoughts ran in Indian."

In December, 1755, Indians came to Oghwaga with accounts of discontent in Pennsylvania as a re-

sult of the defeat of Braddock. Hawley at once communicated the facts to Johnson, with a strong recommendation that a fort be erected at Oghwaga, the one already existing at Cherry Valley being too far distant from the point of danger. The discontented Indians were Delawares, who, some years before, had left their own river and settled at Wyoming. By the defeat of Braddock they had lost faith in the strength of the English, and under French influence had threatened to desolate the whole Pennsylvania frontier. In Northampton County fifty houses had been burned and over one hundred persons murdered and taken into captivity. Virginia settlements had also suffered. Early in the year 1756 the Delawares started northward.

By May so many had departed that from Shamokin to Wyalusing, Mr. Kulp says, "there reigned the silence of the grave." Jonathan Edwards, hearing of these events, wrote that "there is great danger that Mr. Hawley's mission and ministry there will be entirely broken up." Some friendly Delawares arrived at Johnstown during this season, with word that one hundred others were on their way from Oghwaga in want of food. Johnson at once sent word to John Wells, of Cherry Valley, whom a Tory was afterward to murder during the Revolution, and to Robert Flint to supply them with all that they needed. In August a young sachem named Thomas arrived from Oghwaga with fifty-four men, women, and children, and said he was ready to go to war. John Wells, from plans prepared in Albany, built the fort Hawley had recommended, and Hawley retired from his mission. The fort stood about a mile and a half above Windsor village, on the east side of the river.

Proceeding to Johnstown, Hawley attended an Indian council, and then served as an army chaplain in an expedition from Albany to Crown Point. Johnson himself in the following year commanded the English forces at the battle of Lake George, of which, through his victory, he became the hero. Wounded in the battle, he remained a cripple for the rest of his life. England granted him the sum of $25,000, and the King made him a baronet. Hawley attempted to return to his work at Oghwaga, but the enterprise proved to be "too hazardous to be prosecuted." He went as far as Cherry Valley in December, 1756, "but could not safely penetrate into the wilderness, my mission being nearly one hundred miles beyond any plantation of whites." In the following spring he received a letter from Johnson, "which the Indians desired him to write me," inviting him back to his mission, and again started to return. He got as far as Albany but had trouble to find a companion, and when the small-pox broke out, definitely abandoned the undertaking.

Had Hawley reached Oghwaga, his work could not have prospered. In October of this year chiefs wrote to Johnson that they had news "of a company of about thirty men being at Cheningo,* going to war against our brethren, the English." Two men had been sent down to warn them off, but "in spite of all that we and our brethren, the Nanticokes, could do, they marched along until we met them a second time when, after a long council, they turned back but nine." The chiefs begged Johnson "to

* In the Oneida dialect written Ochenang, and meaning bull thistles. The place was afterward called Chenango Point, and is now Binghamton.

be strong brother and not keep this news private, but to give notice to all the towns."

Information had also reached them of "another great company not far from Tioga, coming the same way, mixed with French, and will be here in a few days." It was after such correspondence, joined to his experience in the war, that Johnson, in 1757, wrote concerning the Oghwagas and others on the upper Susquehanna: "They have always, and during this war constantly, shown themselves firmly attached to our interests, and no Indians have been more ready to come and join his Majesty's arms." He added that they were "a flourishing and increasing people," and were determined "to live and die with us."

In November of this year fell a blow which sent consternation through the frontier—the massacre and burning of German Flatts. So great was the terror, that at Cherry Valley and other places settlers sent their goods and valuables to Albany and Schenectady. Stone remarks that at one time it seemed "as if these settlements would be entirely depopulated."

Indeed the whole course of that final struggle with France created a state of alarm on this frontier, rendered all the more intense by the attitude of the four western Iroquois nations. The defeat of Braddock had weakened, if not actually broken, their allegiance to the English. Tryon County put eight hundred men into the field, one company being stationed at Cherry Valley in command of Captain Robert McKean of whom in the Border Wars there will be more to chronicle in this history.

In these gloomy circumstances the labors of Gideon Hawley in this valley closed. His work had

in no small way been fruitful. Among his aids had been the two "pious Indians," named Isaac Dakayenensese and Peter Agwrondougwas, whom Spencer had converted. After Hawley's departure Peter carried on the missionary work alone, preaching at Oghwaga, and making journeys to other villages. In 1792 John Trumbull painted a miniature of Peter that may still be seen in Yale University. After Mr. Hawley's failure to return, Peter made a journey to Lebanon in midwinter, through deep snows, to ask for a new minister. Mr. Hawley continued his labors among Indians elsewhere. In 1758 he was settled over some tribes at Leicester, Conn., and later over others in Massachusetts, where he spent nearly half a century "in the most beneficient and self-denying labors for the salvation of his Indian brethren." He died in 1807 at the age of eighty. He was a native of Bridgeport and a graduate of Yale.

V

New Men at Oghwaga

1762–1763

AFTER the fall of Quebec, when the English became masters of North America east of the Mississippi and north of Florida, other missionaries took up Hawley's work. The Rev. Eli Forbes went down in June, 1762, having with him the Rev. Asaph Rice and an interpreter named Gunn, who is, perhaps, the missionary referred to by Brown as Gan. They went by the Mohawk to Canajoharie,* and thence to Cherry Valley, following the river to Oghwaga, now a town of three hundred inhabitants, chiefly Oneidas. Here they found Good Peter, and so impressed was Forbes with his character and work that he described him as the equal of any Englishman he knew in his Christian virtues and abilities. With their arrival we have a new chapter to chronicle in the missionary history of this valley.

In addition to the Stockbridge school, New England in those times possessed an institution for Indian boys at Lebanon, where, in 1743—five years before Spencer came down to Oghwaga—the Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock had begun to teach Samson Occum. In 1759 Occum became an ordained minister, and then in 1761 went among the Oneidas as a missionary, with a letter from Johnson. He was

* Meaning The Pot That Washes Itself, a reference to the circular gorge in the creek near its mouth.

sent out by the Boston commissioners, and perhaps visited Oghwaga. Dr. Wheelock's success with this Indian and others—and Occum rose to considerable repute afterward as a preacher—induced him to receive Indian children from New York, and as reports from Mr. Hawley at Oghwaga reached him, his hopes and plans for the civilization of the red man assumed large proportions. He gained the ear of Johnson as well as his confidence through having as one of his students a youth who was afterward to write his name large in the history of this frontier—Joseph Brant. Dr. Wheelock's school finally aroused the interest of nearly all the Colonial officials in America, who recommended it to their friends in England as "one of the noblest and most worthy objects of their Christian beneficence." The Rev. C. J. Smith was sent to England to solicit aid, and in time a total of about $47,500 was secured for the enterprise, the King heading the list with $1,000.

Dr. Wheelock desired to secure a tract of land for an Indian educational institution, and many letters from him to Johnson have been preserved. His experience and his information had made him confident that a great work could be done among the Six Nations. Johnson, in 1763, wrote that the Oghwaga, Mohawk, Schoharie, and Canada Indians were "determined to live and die with the English," and that this was "due in great measure to the little knowledge they have acquired of our religion which I heartily wish was more known to them and the rest." In the same year Dr. Wheelock proposed that "a tract of land, fifteen or twenty miles square, or four townships, on the west bank of the Susquehanna river be given to form an Indian school."

To this scheme Johnson was not favorably disposed; he thought the education of Indians could be best carried on in places remote from Indian influence—a view to which, after some further experience, Dr. Wheelock came round.

Dr. Wheelock then proposed that something be done in the Wyoming country, where, he wrote, "I understand some of our people are about to settle on a new purchase on the Susquehanna: if it does not disoblige and prejudice the Indians, I should be glad, and it may be if that settlement should go on, a door may be open for my design on that purchase." Sir William said in reply that it would be "highly improper to attempt any settlement in their country as they (the Indians) are greatly disgusted at the great thirst which we all seem to show for their lands, and therefore I must give it as my opinion that any settlement on the Susquehanna may prove fatal to those who should attempt to establish themselves thereon, as the Indians have all declared, not only their greatest aversion thereto, but have all threatened to prevent such settlement." About this time Johnson wrote to the Lords of Trade that some of the missionaries had too often used their influence to get lands, and the Mohawks had lately told him "they apprehended the reason they had not clergy as formerly amongst them was because they had no more lands to spare."

Dr. Wheelock at one period unquestionably had great faith in the possibility of elevating the red men. In 1762 he said that for several years faithful men had been at work in Oghwaga. "The Indians are in some measure civilized," he wrote, "some of them baptised, a number of them, in a judgment of charity, real Christians." They had a

sachem who was "a man of understanding" and "entirely friendly to the design of a school." Dr. Wheelock thought there was opportunity for one hundred missionaries and as many interpreters on the Susquehanna and elsewhere. In the following year he reported that Samuel Ashpo (or Ashbow) had spent six weeks at Jeningo, "from which he was obliged to retreat on account of a rupture between the Indians and the English." This referred to the conspiracy of Pontiac. In March, 1763, Forbes and Rice went to Oghwaga. They gathered a church and set up two schools, one for adults and one for children. In September Forbes returned to Lebanon, taking with him four Indian boys, one of whom was eventually graduated from Dr. Wheelock's school.

VI

Pontiac's War and After It

1763–1768

MR. RICE remained at his post until, perhaps, the end of the summer of 1763; but not longer. In the Far West had now been organized the conspiracy led by Pontiac. Pontiac had fought with the French against Braddock, and, with the French cause now lost, aspired on his own account to wrest vengeance from the English. His conspiracy was the last remnant of a European struggle in America, extending over more than three quarters of a century. Ultimately it failed, but not until almost every white man had been driven from the Ohio Valley, and 2,000 men on the western frontier had lost their lives.

To this uprising and its influence on the Six Nations was due Johnson's German Flatts conference of September, 1763, to which came two hundred and seventy Indians from the Susquehanna villages. The Indians said they desired to renew the covenant chain, and declared that all their brethren on the river, as far down as Owego, were "friends and determined to remain so." Hostile Indians reached Oghwaga in the same season, their purpose being either to win over the Six Nations to Pontiac or to renew the warfare on the English settlements. By some of them Isaac Hollister, a Connecticut settler, had been taken prisoner in the Wyoming Valley and carried "up the Susquehanna about one hundred and fifty miles."

So serious became the danger, that Johnson, in February, 1764, sent out an expedition under orders to capture all hostile Indians found on the river. It comprised two hundred men, mostly Indians. Near "the main branch of the Susquehanna" the enemy were heard from, as encamped a short distance away, and already on the road against the settlements. At daybreak Johnson's men rushed upon the Delawares, took them by surprise, and made prisoners of the whole party, forty-one in number, including their chief, Captain Bull, a son of Teedyuscung,* "who had discovered great inveteracy against the English and led several parties against them during the present Indian war." When the expedition set out, Johnson had offered rewards of $50 for the heads of two Delawares named Long Coat and Onaperaquedra. The whole party of captives were taken over to the Mohawk Valley, and thirteen of them were sent to New York, where they were lodged in the common jail, after having been much observed by the people of that city, who are described as admiring their sullen and ferocious countenances.

In March, shortly after this success, another expedition, in which a share was taken by Joseph Brant, was sent down. Brant had already seen service in war. Besides taking part in the siege of Fort Niagara in 1759, where he conducted himself, according to Stone,† with "distinguished bravery,"

*Teedyuscung was a noted chief of the Delaware nation. Although he had been converted by the Moravians, he could never resist the temptation to follow other Indians on the war-path, his sympathies being with the French. Having incurred the hostility of the Six Nations in 1763, a party of their warriors set fire to his house and caused him to perish in its flames.

†William L. Stone was born in Ulster County in 1792, and died at Saratoga in 1844. At the age of seventeen he was a journeyman printer

he had been in the battle of Lake George. He was then a boy of thirteen, and, according to his own account, "was seized with such a tremor when the firing began that he was obliged to take hold of a small sapling to steady himself."

This expedition to the Susquehanna comprised one hundred and forty Indians and a few whites, the latter having for leader Captain Andrew Montour, a half-breed interpreter and frontiersman, whose mother was the more celebrated interpreter, Madam Montour. It reached Oghwaga before the close of March, and on April 1st departed down the river, first calling at Kanhaughton, a town which had been abandoned, and containing thirty-six good houses of squared logs and stone chimneys. It was now burned. Montour proceeded up "the Cayuga branch" and destroyed another town of twenty houses, besides four smaller villages. He afterward burned Kanestio, which had sixty houses, and from which he took away horses, corn, and implements.

When Captain Montour returned to the Mohawk Valley, with report of his success, Johnson decided to send his son Sir John to Oghwaga with a body of Indians and a small select corps of whites, "to take advantage of the consternation the enemy were thrown into." Sir John followed the river

in the office of the Cooperstown Federalist, and in 1813 editor of the Herkimer American, where he had Thurlow Weed for a printer. He became in 1821 an owner of the New York Commercial Advertiser, of which he was thenceforth editor until his death, becoming in 1840 one of the many editors whom Fenimore Cooper sued for libel. Stone's Life of Brant was published in 1838 and went through many editions, one of which appeared in Cooperstown from the Phinney house, and the eighth being issued in Buffalo. In 1865 his son brought out a new edition with an index. Stone wrote other books, but none in repute equal to this, the noblest tribute ever paid by a white man to an Indian's memory.

route, and his force had been fitted out with some liberality of display in order to impress the Indians. He made a few prisoners and then returned.

Tranquillity having been restored, two missionaries from Lebanon were allowed to leave the Mohawk Valley late in the summer. At Oghwaga they gathered a church of fourteen members. They were graduates of Yale, one of them C. J. Smith, the other Theophilus Chamberlain. On leaving Lebanon they had originally been accompanied by eight Indian boys, one of them Brant, who for a time acted as interpreter for Smith ; but Pontiac's War, as we have seen, soon took Brant into the field, where, says Dr. Wheelock, he " behaved so much like a Christian and a soldier that he gained great esteem." When that war closed, Brant's house at Canajoharie was described as an asylum for missionaries. The route to the stations was a direct one by way of Bowman's Creek and Cherry Valley.

With the coming of winter, famine was threatened in the valley. The food-supply had been exhausted in consequence of the war, and the mission was removed to Otsego Lake. Here was opened a small school, into which was put as teacher a Mohawk boy, educated at Lebanon, named Moses. One of the missionaries, the Rev. C. J. Smith, sent to Mr. Wheelock the following report of the school :

> I am every day diverted and pleased with a view of Moses and his school, as I can sit in my study and see him and all his scholars at any time, the school-house being nothing but an open barrack. And I am much pleased to see eight or ten and sometimes more scholars sitting under their bark table, some reading, some writing and others a studying, and all engaged to appearances with as much serious-

ness and attention as you will see in almost any worshipping assembly and Moses at the head of them with the gravity of fifty or three score. I expect this school will be much larger when it comes to Oghwaga, as there are but a few here, and many of these that are, on account of the present scarcity, are obliged to employ their children. The school at Oghwaga will doubtless be large enough for Joseph * and Moses both.

While the school remained at the lake, one of the missionaries returned to Lebanon to obtain a carpenter to build houses and make agricultural implements. Two of the Indians, Isaac Dakazenensere and Adam Wavonwanoren, in a letter dated at the lake in the summer of 1765, asked Mr. Wheelock to "assist us in setting up husbandry by sending a number of white people to live with us who, when they come, should build us mills, teach us husbandry, and furnish us with tools for husbandry." But, they added, "we should have you understand, brothers, that we have no thoughts of selling our lands to any that come to live among us. For if we should sell a little land to-day, by and by they would want to buy a little more and so our land would go by inches till we should have none to live upon." A letter dated in September of the same year found these Indians back in Oghwaga.

Besides this school, others had been established among the Oneidas. Mr. Wheelock at Lebanon still had eighteen boys. Five Mohawks whom he had educated were teachers in various parts in Cen-

* Joseph Woolley, an "eminently pious" young Delaware Indian, who had been educated at Lebanon and duly licensed to preach. While making one of his trips into the Susquehanna Valley, he fell ill at Cherry Valley and died.

tral New York. In the Mohawk and Oneida countries one hundred and twenty-seven children were then attending schools, and another school was soon to be started with twenty.

Best known among the missionaries on whom Mr. Wheelock had influence is Samuel Kirkland, forty years of whose life were devoted to the work. As Dr. Wheelock afterward became the founder of Dartmouth, so was it Kirkland who founded Hamilton College. Scarcely more than a dozen miles southeast of Lebanon lies Norwich, where Kirkland, in 1741, was born. He was a student at Lebanon in his youth, and was there ordained for the ministry. During the first years of his life in the wilderness he had for housekeepers two Indians, once companions of Samson Occum, named David and Hannah Fowler, who had been educated at Lebanon. In the neighboring town of Windham, Kirkland finally married Dr. Wheelock's niece.

In the year 1764 Mr. Kirkland, who had already been to Oneida with Brant in 1761, and who had learned the Mohawk tongue from Brant, began his labors among the New York Indians. Joseph Woolley accompanied him. They passed down the Susquehanna in November to Oghwaga, where Joseph was established as a school-master. Mr. Kirkland then returned to the Mohawk Valley, whence he set out for the wilderness west of him, the scene of his life-long labor, without a penny in his pockets, and entirely dependent on the natives. Within a few months famine was threatened, and he was obliged to return to Oghwaga to escape starvation. He was forced to live for several days on "white oak acorns fried in bear's grease." At a later period he complained that he had lived "more like a dog than

a Christian minister." Many a time he would have begged on his knees for a bone such as he had often thrown to a dog. For ten months he had not slept free from pain in his bones, with a pain in his chest. "The devil," he said, "has tried for three years to starve me to death."

A son of Mr. Wheelock's, named Ralph, who spent two years in a tour among the missionaries, came down to Oghwaga about 1768, and afterward passed considerable time with Mr. Kirkland among the Oneidas farther north. Ralph Wheelock does not appear to have possessed much knowledge of human nature. During this time his relations with Mr. Kirkland ceased to be cordial. Joseph Brant used to delight in telling a story of his school-days at Lebanon, in which Ralph did not figure as precisely the hero. With Brant in the school was an Indian boy named William Johnson, a natural son of Sir William. Ralph Wheelock one day told William to saddle a horse for him. William refused to do it on the ground that he "was not a menial, but a gentleman's son." "Do you know what a gentleman is?" asked Ralph. "I do," was the answer. "A gentleman is a person who keeps race horses and drinks Madeira wine, and that is what neither you nor your father does—therefore saddle the horse yourself." William was among those who were slain at the battle of Oriskany in 1777.

VII

Last of the Indian Missions

1769–1774

THE work at Oghwaga in 1769 was in charge of the Rev. Eleazer Moseley. He had been settled there about three years and was receiving a salary of $500 from the Boston Commissioners. The Revs. Peter and Henry Avery came some time later. James Dean was the interpreter in Moseley's time, and in 1769 had been nine years in the country. In the Smith and Wells journal we have the following account of the methods employed by Mr. Moseley in his Sunday work:

June 4th [1769] Sunday. In the morning we attended Messrs. Moseley and Dean to divine service which was conducted with regularity and solemnity. They first sang a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, and after another psalm Moseley preached a sermon (in a chintz night gown) and the business was concluded by a third psalm. The congregation consisted of near one hundred Indians, men women and children, including the chief of the Tuscarora town three miles below, with some of his people and they all behaved with exemplary devotion. The Indian priest named Isaac sat in the pulpit and the Indian clerk, Peter, below him. The clerk repeated the psalm in the Oneida language and the people joined in the melody with exactness and skill, the tunes very lively and agreeable. The sermon, delivered in English, was repeated in Indian by Dean, sentence by sentence. The men sat on benches on one side of the house and the women on the other. Before a meeting a horn is sounded three several times to give notice.

In the afternoon we attended the service again. This was performed by the Indian priest in the Oneida language. He began by a prayer; then they sang a psalm, the tune whereof was long, with many undulations, then a prayer and a second psalm, followed by an exhortation, repeating part of what Moseley had said in the morning with his own comments upon it and reading sometimes out of a book, here being several books in the Indian language. He finished the service with a benediction. He and his clerk were dressed in black coats. Isaac is the chief here in religious affairs, and his brother, a stout fat man, in civil, like Moses and Aaron. This last fell asleep while his brother was preaching, but assisted in singing with a loud and hoarse voice. These brothers and other chiefs came to visit us very kindly.

An incident, at Oghwaga, of the year 1770 was the killing of a young Tuscarora by Thomas King, an Indian. Greatly depressed by his own act, King decided to submit humbly to the will of the Tuscarora's friends, but the matter was referred to Sir William Johnson, an old sachem going on a special mission to the baronet. By this year many Mohawks and Oneidas were able to read and write, and frequently acted as lay readers at church services, using the liturgy as well as the Presbyterian service, and making religious addresses.

In 1771 a graduate of Harvard, named Aaron Crosby, arrived and reported that there were "290 souls of them who desire assistance." The Oghwaga houses were superior to those used by many white men on the frontier. Some of the Indians he found to be good farmers. In 1774 Mr. Crosby became involved in an embarrassing dispute. As a Congregationalist, he had declined to use the Church of England service, which the Mohawks naturally

preferred, having learned to use it at their Fort Hunter home. During the dispute, a Mohawk Indian deliberately rose in meeting and proceeded to read the English service in spite of Mr. Crosby. Mr. Crosby had further trouble because he refused to baptize Indian children whose parents were immoral, and who could give no guarantee that the children would be properly guided.

To return to Dr. Wheelock; it was probably the final letter from Johnson opposing immigration of whites that in the main repressed his zeal, and he saw, moreover, as time went on, that if the boys whom he educated at Lebanon were to be allowed to return home to places where no white men were settled around them, they would inevitably relapse into their former state of barbarism. Seeing these things, he was probably all the more willing to depart from Lebanon when tracts of land had been offered in New Hampshire if the school would remove to the place where now has grown up Dartmouth College. Thus this school at Lebanon was the germ from which was developed the alma mater of Daniel Webster.

Mr. Wheelock afterward wrote concerning his success at Lebanon that he had educated about forty Indians to become "good readers and writers and even sufficiently master of English grammar, arithmetic and a number of them considerably advanced in knowledge of Greek and Latin and one of them carried through college." But in the same report he declared that these good results almost went to naught after the boys had returned to their former associations. "The current," he said, "is too strong. Of all the number before mentioned I do not hear of more than one-half who have preserved their

characters unstained." He added that "some who on account of their parts and learning bid the fairest for usefulness, are sunk down as low, savage and brutish in manner of living as they were in before any endeavours were used to raise them up." Schools started in the Indian villages usually did well "until broken up by a hunting tour or some public congress." He was further of opinion that the time for doing anything effective for the Six Nations was probably past; they appeared to be dying rapidly in a quick consumption, "wasting like a morning dew." It is well known that the Mohawk nation in those years became reduced to small numbers compared with what they had been a few years before. They declined much more rapidly than any other members of the Iroquois League.*

Late evidence of the work done by these missionaries was obtained in 1843 by Mr. Lothrup, Kirkland's biographer. Visiting some Oneidas in Wisconsin, he asked two aged women to translate for him certain Indian letters. While the women were eagerly examining them, he observed them to become suddenly affected as they read the signature of Honeyost. They explained that Honeyost was their father, and begged to be allowed to keep one of the letters. The request was granted, and with delight in their faces the women exclaimed: "How beautiful, how wonderful, is it not? For forty years our father has slept in his grave and here we have his very thoughts before us. He speaks now through this."

* Dr. Wheelock's complete disinterestedness in his Indian work has been called into question. It may at least be said that in the report giving the disposition made of the funds raised in England the compensation he is shown to have received was large enough for the times. He seems to have been well paid for doing very creditable work. But that can scarcely he held up as a reproach.

Honeyost, or Honayuwus, was a chief who lived more than ninety-four years. He was the author of a celebrated bit of Indian eloquence inspired by the close of the Revolution: "The Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind and it was still."

PART III

Land Titles and Pioneers

1679–1774

I

William Penn and Sir William Johnson

1679–1766

IN the future of North America and the history of Anglo-Saxon civilization the year 1664 was important. Men of English race, under their own flag, in that year began to exert an influence on Manhattan Island. Ten years later they were confirmed in possession of that territory, now occupied by one of the earth's largest and most opulent communities. The two dates form part of a great and memorable chain, starting in 1588, when was overthrown the Spanish Armada, and ending in 1759, when the English conquered at Quebec. The whole series embraces successive events by which the North American continent was wrested by Englishmen from Spanish, Dutch, and French domination. Considering all that followed from the peaceful capitulation of New Amsterdam in 1664, it was one of the most far-reaching events in American history.

Fifteen years after the capitulation, the English in New York obtained from the Indians a promise of the valuable domain of the Susquehanna. As affecting any actual title the promise appears to have had little value, but it is of interest to know that thus early had the valley attracted the attention of Englishmen. By this act the English surpassed in enterprise anything the Dutch had done in forty

years of residence. The Dutch had shown merely the interest of fur traders, seeking a route of travel. The English wanted not only a route but land.

James Graham and William Haig, agents of William Penn, arrived in Albany in 1683 with an offer from Penn to the Indians for the purchase of these lands. Penn's purpose was by this method to divert toward Philadelphia the trade that went to Albany. His scheme showed foresight and the English were at once alarmed by it. They declared that if he bought the river it would "tend to the utter ruin of the beaver trade as the Indians do themselves acknowledge." Moreover, there "hath not anything ever been moved or agitated from the first settling of these parts more prejudicial to his Royal Highness's interests and the inhabitants of this government than this business of the Susquehanna river. The French, it is true, have endeavored to take away our trade by piece-meal, but this will cut it off all at once." In one year Penn, in fact, had received "upwards of 200 packs of beavers," and the trade promised to increase. If this continued, the New York Government could not maintain itself and Albany would be depopulated. Governor Dongan received word from London in reply to this report that "we think you will do well to preserve your interests there as much as possible so that nothing more go away to Mr. Penn or either New Jerseys."

Three weeks after the visit a conference with the Indians was held at Albany, and a formal instrument was signed and sealed conveying to the English the Susquehanna territory above Wyalusing,* and in

* It is obvious that by the Susquehanna was then meant not only the river as we know it, but other streams that flow into it above Wyalusing,

1684 an offensive and defensive alliance against the French was concluded at which the Onondaga and Cayuga sachems made the following statement:

We have given the Susquehanna river which we won with the sword, to this government and desire that it may be a branch of the great Tree * which grows in this place, the top of which reaches the sun, under whose branches we shall shelter ourselves from the French and any other people, and our fire burn in your houses and your fire burn with us and we desire that it always may be so and will not that any of your Penn's people shall settle upon the Susquehanna river, for all our folks or soldiers are like wolves in the woods as you sachem of Virginia know, we having no other land to leave to our children. We desire of you therefore that you would bear witness of what we now do, and that we now confirm what we have done before.

You great man of Virginia, we let you know that great Penn did speak to us here in Corlear's House by his agents and desired to buy the Susquehanna river, but we would not harken to him for we had fastened it to this government.

This "great man of Virginia" was the Governor-General, Lord Howard of Effingham, who had gone to Albany to remonstrate against invasions of his territory by the Indians. He told them it was now about seven years since they came unprovoked to Virginia and "committed such murders and robberies," and that they had invaded that province

including, besides the Unadilla and Charlotte, the Chenango and Chemung. One of the official papers of the times says, "All the nations with whom Albany hath trade live at the head of the Susquehanna river." Again the river was described as "situated in the middle of the Senaca country." It was the Cayuga and Onondaga sachems who now made a conveyance to the English. They said the river "belongs to us alone, the other nations having nothing to do with it."

* The Tree of Peace.

every year since in a warlike manner. He proposed a "new chain" and one "that may be more strong and lasting even to the world's end." The Indians were pleased by this conciliatory spirit and the next day planted the tree of peace.

When the delegates from the several nations referred to the King of England, then Charles II., they called him "your friend that lives over the great lake." They asked to have him informed that they were "a free people uniting ourselves to what sachem we please," which was probably the earliest message to Great Britain from these shores showing a spirit of independence.

The Indians did not regard this treaty as a deed conveying all their right and title. The reference to the valley as the only land they had to leave their children, implies that they believed the land still remained in some sense their own. They were merely placing themselves and their lands "under the protection of the King," and hoped thus to "shelter themselves from the French." Sixty years later, at a conference in Albany, the Indians declared that their fathers had made the Susquehanna conveyance by advice of the English as a way to secure self-protection and to prevent Penn and others from imposing on them. They had understood that they "might always have the land when we should want it." The English had told them they "would keep it for our use," and "accordingly we trusted them."

That the English, on the other hand, believed they had secured ownership is obvious from Dongan's report of 1687, when he said he had been obliged "to give a great deal to the Indians for the Susquehanna river." Whatever the sum given,

it probably was not large. Certain other conveyances of land secured from the Indians in 1683 named as considerations "half a piece of Duffels, two blankets, two guns, three kettles, four coats, fifty pounds of lead and five and twenty pounds of powder."

Dongan, in announcing the purchase to Penn, expressed a hope that "you and I shall not fall out: I desire that we may join heartily together to advance the interests of my master and your good friend." But Penn never forgave Dongan for thwarting his ambition, and finally had his revenge. At the court of James II., where he was high in favor, Penn fostered prejudices against Dongan, and in 1686 Dongan heard that he was to be recalled. In distress he wrote directly to the King: "Mr. Penn has written that I was to be recalled home and I do not doubt that he would do all he can to effect it, having no great kindness for me because I did not consent to his buying the Susquehanna river." But this letter saved him not. Dongan was recalled. Two years later James himself, in the revolution of 1688, realized what it was to be overtaken by misfortune. Nor was it long before misfortune came to Penn. Penn's desire for the valley still existed as late as 1691, when an address to the King, William of Orange, from the Governor and Council of New York, contained these words:

> If Mr. Penn should attain his pretenses to the Susquehanna river it will not only destroy the best branch of your Majesty's revenue, but it will likewise depopulate your province, the inhabitants of Albany having only seated themselves there and addicted their minds to the English language and the mysteries of the said trade with purpose to

manage it, that if it should be diverted from that channel they must follow it, having no other way or art to get a livelihood.

In the following year, by an order in Council, Penn was deprived of the Governorship of Pennsylvania, and new accusations were made of treasonable correspondence with James, who was now a king in exile. But the men of New York, thanks to Dongan,* had forever secured the Susquehanna Valley. In 1711 we find them giving an order to the Indians living on the river to send their fighting men to Albany to join an English expedition against the French in Canada. Thenceforth until the Revolution the English often repeated this appeal and not in vain.

Following the fur traders came actual settlers. Along the lower Mohawk white men had established homes soon after the Dutch came to New York, but in the main these were only trading posts, just as Albany itself originally was one. Schenectady was the most important, the place being actually settled somewhat later—about 1660. By 1690 it had grown to be a town of eighty houses surrounded by a stockade. At midnight in February of that year Frontenac burned all those houses and killed sixty-three persons. Royal grants of land further west along the Mohawk came later still. Even the English were slow to set value on the vast areas of fertile soil that lay uncultivated in the Western wilderness.

Near Fort Hunter, John P. Maibae acquired a

* Thomas Dongan's services to the Province of New York have been most lastingly commemorated in that instrument called after him—the "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" of 1686, which remains a landmark in the history of popular government in America.

patent in 1705, while in the same year was issued the great Oriskany patent on which Fort Stanwix was afterward to be built, and which remained for many years the extreme outpost of the white men's landed possessions in the Province of New York; but the real "thirst for land" did not actually set in among the English until twenty or thirty years later, in the time of Governor Burnet, who with large foresight planted the trading post and fort at Oswego. To that period belong the patents issued in the Mohawk Valley to Lewis Morris, Robert Livingston, Rutgerd Bleeker, Abram Van Horn, and Frederick Morris, and the great Cosby's Manor grant extending from German Flatts westward beyond Utica, on both sides of the stream.

When the Protestant missionaries took up their work, the upper Susquehanna had become familiar ground to many white men, a few of whom had secured titles to land. It is not surprising to find that the first men who became owners of land were traders, or men interested in the trade, or that they still more frequently were men whose official places enabled them to secure grants advantageously.

John Lindesay, who obtained the Cherry Valley patent in 1738, and founded the settlement at that place in the following year under the name of Lindesay's Bush, had been Sheriff of Albany County, and in company with Philip Livingston, who lived in Albany and was a commissioner of Indian affairs, for more than twenty-five years, had obtained in 1730 a patent on the Mohawk near Little Falls. Lindesay secured the Cherry Valley tract while George Clarke was Lieutenant-Governor. Clarke, who was interested in the tract, came to America

from England in Queen Anne's time, in order to act as Secretary to the Province, and in 1736 had become Lieutenant-Governor, an office he held for seven years. By marriage he was connected with the family of Hyde, to which belonged the earls of Clarendon, and from which came the name of the family home in Otsego—Hyde Hall.*

Arendt Bradt, of Schenectady, who obtained a small patent on Schenevus Creek in 1738, another on the same creek in 1740, and a third at the mouth of that creek in 1740, was a commissioner of Indian affairs, serving with Philip Livingston, and with Livingston owned a patent on the Mohawk. Nearly all these Indian commissioners were engaged in the fur trade. Although they received no salaries as commissioners, the office was one of profit and consequence. What was known as Petrie's Purchase, extending north from Otsego Lake, was secured in 1740, John J. Petrie being a resident of German Flatts, where at one time he was a magistrate. John Groesbeck, who was an officer of the Court of Chancery, obtained in 1741 the patent lying northeast of the lake, in which neighborhood lay the George Clarke lands.

Voleert Oothout in 1741 secured a patent to the bottom-lands of Cherry Valley Creek, extending from Lindesay's patent down to and across the Susquehanna. David Schuyler, whose family was prominent in Indian affairs, and who had close relations with John Lindesay, in 1755 obtained his large patent running west from Richfield. From

* After the Revolution another George Clarke, heir to these lands as Clarke's grandson, came over and established himself permanently on the lake. Of the semi-baronial life which he led there, interesting glimpses are given by Levi Beardsley, who knew Clarke well and had often partaken of his hospitality.

him the lake of Richfield derived the name which for many years it bore.

Most interesting of all these early grants is the one made to William Johnson in 1751. Desiring to secure possession of the Susquehanna lands extending from the mouth of the Charlotte to the Pennsylvania line, he, like others, found it necessary first to purchase them from the Indians. In May, 1751, he petitioned for the lands after having correspondence with Gouldsborough Banyar, as to the form of petition. He applied for a tract extending one mile back from the river on each side and estimated to embrace 100,000 acres.

In the same year a warrant was issued to Johnson and others—the petition had come from "William Johnson and Co."—to lay out these lands as far as the Pennsylvania line, a line which then had not been definitely fixed, and this gave rise to anxiety in Pennsylvania. In this year was held the Albany council at which Jonathan Edwards learned of the desire of the English to send missionaries into the valley. Johnson's interest in these lands and Hawley's coming to Oghwaga have close connection. That Johnson purchased the lands from the Indians is shown in a letter he addressed to "the King's most excellent Majesty in Council," in 1766, saying the Six Nations had given him "by deed a tract of land on the Susquehanna river within the said Province," for which he "had paid them a large sum of money."

Johnson was the earliest white man who by purchase acquired title to lands in the upper valley west of the Charlotte. He had first risen to office in 1745, when he was made a Justice of the Peace. Four years later he was appointed Sole Superintend-

ent of Indian Affairs, and prepared at once to conciliate the red men Along with wampum belts he sent them a request to attend the council of 1751. Clad in their own dress, he partook of their pastimes, put on their paint and feathers, and was adopted by the Mohawks as a chief. All previous councils were far outdone, and Johnson's success perhaps marked a turning-point in the conflict with France. The council met on the same hill where now rises the imposing edifice reared by the Empire State for its Capitol, and here, under Johnson's influence, was held that other and greater council, the Congress of 1754.

In his time Johnson became owner of a vast estate, acquired by methods of which modern notions of right and wrong perhaps would not wholly approve, but which in the eighteenth century were common to men in office in America. Dr. Timothy Dwight says this wealth was due to "a succession of ingenious and industrious devices," and a story illustrative of them has been so widely printed as to be generally believed:

> Old King Hendrick of the Mohawks was at his house at the time Sir William received two or three rich suits of military clothes. The old King, a short time afterward, came to Sir William and said: "I dream." "Well, what did you dream?" "I dream you gave me one suit of clothes." "Well, I suppose you must have it," and accordingly he gave him one. Some time after, Sir William met Hendrick and said: "I dreamed last night." "Did you? what did you dream?" "I dreamed you gave me a tract of land," describing it. After a pause Hendrick said: "I suppose you must have it," and then raising his finger significantly, added, "You must not dream again."

Besides Dwight, others have accepted this story, among them Campbell (who credits it to Dwight), Schoolcraft, and Simms, who gave Henry F. Yates as his authority. Stone, in very positive terms, pronounced the story untrue, and his statement inspires confidence. Johnson has not been the only victim of the anecdote. In language almost identical it may be found in a biography of the younger Conrad Weiser, where Weiser takes Johnson's place as the hero. Weiser's biographer is as positive as Johnson's in his denial of its truth.

A tradition exists in the Susquehanna Valley that the land referred to in the story was not in the Mohawk Valley, but in the Susquehanna, at the mouth of Otego Creek, and it is well known that some of the early deeds now on record at Cooperstown use the words "being a parcel of Sir William Johnson's dreamland tract." Johnson's own statement that he had paid "a large sum of money" for his Susquehanna tract, the warrant issued to him in 1751 and Stone's positive denial must, however, be remembered. As for the early Otsego deeds, they could have done little more than continue a tradition which, at the time the earliest deeds at Cooperstown were drawn, was forty years old. King Hendrick, moreover, was of the Mohawks and that nation is not known to have claimed any lands as far west as Otego Creek. Some importance must also be given to a letter written by Johnson to the Lords of Trade in 1764, in which he says:

> The friendship which several of the Indian nations professed for me induced them at different periods many years ago to give me deeds of several large tracts, signed in public meetings of the whole, for which as they always ex-

pect a return I at times paid them large sums, more than they received from many strangers, and might have procured patents for such tracts and settled or disposed of them to great advantage a long time since, but for my unwillingness to be engaged in lands from the nature of my employment.

II

The Fort Stanwix Deed, and Patents that Followed It

1768–1770

LAST of the great acts of Sir William Johnson's life was the negotiation of the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. By the terms of this treaty a vast territory south and east of the Ohio, Susquehanna, and Unadilla rivers was first opened to settlement. After Pontiac's War, discontent had arisen among the Indians from many causes. For one thing, they disliked the white man's inordinate "thirst for land," and a council was called, not only to renew the ancient covenant chain between the Indians and the English, but to establish a scientific frontier.

In preparation for this council some twenty large batteaux laden with presents best suited to propitiate the Indians had been conveyed to Fort Stanwix.* From his agent at Albany Sir William ordered sixty barrels of flour, fifty barrels of pork, six barrels of rice, and seventy barrels of other provisions. When the Congress opened, 3,200 Indians were present, "each of whom," wrote Johnson, "consumes daily more than two ordinary men amongst

*The site of Fort Stanwix is now Rome, Oneida County. D. E. Wager says it was "the largest and strongest fort ever erected in the Province of New York, except Crown Point and Ticonderoga."

L. of C.

us, and would be extremely dissatisfied if stinted when convened for business." After Sir William had told them the King was resolved to terminate the grievances from which they suffered for want of a boundary, and that the King had ordered presents proportionate to the nature and extent of the interests involved, the Indians retired, and for several days were in private council.

The full report of these proceedings shows the sagacity and firmness with which Sir William carried his points. When, finally, the deed was executed, it conveyed to the English a vast territory out of which States have since been made. On that deed rests the title by purchase from the Indians, not only to large parts of New York but of Kentucky, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The deed bears date of November 5, 1768. Among those who witnessed its execution were Benjamin Franklin and William Franklin, his natural son, at that time Governor of New Jersey. It transferred the land with "all the hereditaments and appurtenances to the same belonging, or appurtaining, in the fullest and most ample manner," and all right, title, or interest, "either in law or equity of each and every one of us" unto "our said Sovereign Lord King George III., his heirs and successors to and for his and their own proper use and behoof forever."

The actual sum paid in money for this imperial territory was about $50,600. The money came to the Indians at a time when they needed it. The corn-crop for that year in great measure had failed. Richard Smith, who was at Oghwaga in the following summer, says "they lived through the winter and spring on the money received at the treaty from the sale of their lands." He reported them as

"continually passing up to the settlements to buy provisions and sometimes showed us money in their bosoms."

From a point on the Allegany River several miles above Pittsburg, this historic line of property ran in a northeasterly direction to the head of Towanda Creek, proceeding down that stream to the Susquehanna. Thence it went northward along the river to Tioga Point, eastward to Owego,* and from this place crossed the country to the Delaware, reaching it at a point a few miles below Hancock. From here it went up the Delaware to a point "opposite to where Tianaderha falls into the Susquehanna," which point is now Deposit. Thence the line went directly across the hills to the Unadilla, and up that stream "to the west branch, to the head thereof." The Indians declared that the deed had been executed "to prevent those intrusions and encroachments of which we have so long and loudly complained and to put a stop to many fraudulent advantages which have been so often taken of us in land affairs." The Indians made certain reservations that "lands occupied by the Mohawks around their villages, as well as by any other nation affected by this our cession, may effectually remain to them and their posterity." Out of this grew prolonged trouble. It had very marked influence in producing the discontent from which were precipitated the Border Wars of the Revolution.

In the year following the treaty, a Government surveyor was sent into the country to run the line of division. His name was Simon Metcalf. He began at Deposit, and proceeded north to the Sus-

* Ahwaga in the Onondaga dialect, and meaning where the valley widens. Written also Owegy.

views, arrived. He wrote to the Minister that the sum paid "was the most moderate that could have been offered for so valuable and extensive a cession." He afterward proposed a method by which the Crown could be reimbursed for its outlay. It was that all grants of land be subject to a tax of $50 for each thousand acres. A million acres thus would yield the sum of $50,000.

The original purpose of the Crown had been to continue the line "northward from Owego." After the treaty, Johnson explained that he had found it "extremely difficult to get the line so far to the westward from its vicinity to their own towns, and indeed the whole of the line as it approached them cost me more pains and trouble than can be conceived." In this statement we see reasons for the peculiar course of the line as it ran from Owego to the Delaware, and thence to the Unadilla River, instead of going "northward from Owego." Johnson's course finally received the royal sanction, on December 9, 1769, when Hillsborough wrote that it was the King's pleasure "that you should declare the royal ratification of the treaty of Fort Stanwix in such manner as has been usual on the like occasions."

No sooner had this treaty been negotiated than the business of getting patents began to thrive. In 1769 was issued the John Butler patent, lying north of the Butternut Creek and reaching westward to the Unadilla River. John Butler was a deputy under Johnson, and afterward became notorious as the Tory Colonel who followed Guy Johnson to Canada, and then returned with his son Walter to write his history in the blood of many innocent persons. In the same year George Croghan got his patent running west from Otsego Lake. These

lands were given to Croghan through an understanding with the Indians, who desired thus to compensate him for lands he had purchased of them in Pennsylvania, and which, by the terms of the treaty, he would now lose. Croghan got 100,000 acres in October, 1768, the patent being issued in the following year. He also received 18,000 acres near Cherry Valley, which eventually passed to his daughter, the wife of Augustine Prevost. Other lands Croghan sold to Joseph Wharton.

Croghan took steps to settle the tract on the lake. In the course of his enterprise he mortgaged the lands, and eventually lost them through foreclosure. William Cooper, in the interest of the mortgagees, after the Revolution, went to the lake to view the lands, and soon became a settler and the founder of Cooperstown. There in the wilderness his son, the future novelist, grew up from infancy and gained that knowledge of frontier life and Indian character of which he has given the truest and most lasting pictures in our literature. Had Croghan succeeded in his enterprise the world probably never would have heard of "Leather Stocking."

From the same year dates the Morris patent, a part of which lies in the town of Unadilla. It was granted to Staats Long Morris, General Jacob Morris's uncle, and a brother of Lewis Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Staats Long Morris was then an officer in the British army, and had served in India against the French at the siege of Pondicherry. Before settling this patent he had married the Dowager Duchess of Gordon. In 1797 he became Governor of Quebec.

In 1770 were issued the patents on the Unadilla River known as Peter Middleton's and Clotworthy

Upton's, the Otego patent issued to Charles Reade, Thomas Wharton, and others, the one in the Charlotte Valley issued to Johnson, and the numerous patents on the south side of the Susquehanna issued to Augustine Prevost, John Harper, William Walton, Laurence Kortright, and others. In issuing the Otego patent, the Crown reserved "all white or other sorts of pine trees fit for masts of the growth of twenty four inches' diameter and upwards at ten inches from the earth for masts, for the royal navy of us, our heirs and successors." It was required that one family should settle on each 1,000 acres within three years, and cultivate three acres for every fifty acres capable of cultivation. Should the trees fit for masts be cut without license, the titles were to be forfeited. In this patent were 69,000 acres.

III

The Patent Called Wallace's

1770

BY the terms of the Fort Stanwix deed, that portion of Sir William Johnson's Susquehanna domain which lay west of the mouth of the Unadilla had passed again into the hands of the Indians. To the remainder, being lands between the mouth of the Unadilla and the mouth of the Charlotte, a new patent in 1770 was granted to Alexander Wallace and many associates. An account of this patent may be given in detail to illustrate the circumstances in which so many patents on this frontier were in that period obtained.

In the year of the Fort Stanwix deed two well-known merchants of New York were Hugh Wallace and a younger brother Alexander, both natives of Ireland. Hugh had been in the country as early as 1753, but Alexander came several years later. Each had married a daughter of Cornelius Low, and thus was connected with some of the most distinguished families in the New York colony. The name of Low ranked among the best names in the aristocracy of that seaport town whose population was then under 20,000. For several years the brothers were prominently engaged in the Irish trade, their ships making voyages to Cork and Dublin. Hugh was the second president of the Chamber of Commerce. In 1769, the year following the deed, Hugh was chosen a member of the Provincial Council and continued to hold the office until

1776. It was an office of distinction, but no salary, and one of the chief advantages derived from holding it was that it enabled the holder to secure for himself, his family, and his friends, large grants of land.

The Wallace patent comprised 28,000 acres, and in order to comply with the regulation limiting holdings, it was issued to twenty-eight persons, each to hold a twenty-eighth part.* Many of these men were prominent citizens of New York in the eighteenth century. Some were merchants like the Wallaces themselves; others were journalists, and others physicians. A sketch of the lives of several of them will show how they were intimately acquainted, if not associated, with a merchant and councillor like Hugh Wallace and a prominent official like Goulsborough Banyar.

Mr. Low had grown up in the office of Hayman Levy, an eminent trader, who taught John Jacob Astor the fur business, and before that had started Mr. Low in business by selling him a hogshead of rum with which to trade with Indians. Mr. Low, in his time, became a great local magnate, and the firm of Low & Wallace, of 216 Water Street, was widely known. Mr. Low became owner of extensive lands in Jefferson and Lewis counties, including the sites of Adams and Watertown, and after him was named Lowville. He was a member of the convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States.

* These persons were Alexander Wallace, John Kennedy, John Shaw, John Hamilton, Hamilton Young, Robert Ross Waddell, Robert Alexander, Smith Ramadge, Anthony Van Dam, Theodore Marston, David Mathews, Charles Ramadge, John Miller, William Park, John Moore, James Stewart, Nicholas Low, Francis Stephens, John Fairholme, William Stepple, William Newton, Hugh Gaine, John Rice, James Leadbetter, Charles Morse, Peter Middleton, James Rivington, and Robert McAlpin.

Mr. Waddell also was a merchant, the junior partner in the large house of George Cunningham & Co., and its New York manager. Their business was Irish. After the war Mr. Waddell went into business on his own account. He was one of the founders of the St. Patrick Society and its secretary for nineteen years. He died in 1818. John Shaw was another New York merchant, and did business in Water Street.

Two of the patentees, Rivington and Gaine, were journalists. Rivington was born in London in 1724, came to New York in 1761, and died there in 1802. His place of business was in Wall Street. He began the publication of the *New York Gazetteer* newspaper, and was such an ardent Tory in the Revolution that seventy-five horsemen, led by Captain Isaac Sears, went down from Connecticut, entered his office, destroyed his press, and made bullets of his type. Later on he turned Whig, and in 1781 acted as a spy for Washington. Ashbel Green described him as "the greatest sycophant imaginable; very little under the influences of any principle but self interest, yet of the most courteous manners to all with whom he had intercourse."

Gaine was a native of Ireland and published a New York paper called the *Mercury*. He was at first a Whig and afterward became a Royalist. On petition he was allowed to remain in New York after the war, and conducted thenceforth a book-store. He died possessed of a large estate.

Peter Middleton was one of the most eminent physicians of his time in this country, and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He helped to make the first dissections ever undertaken in America, was among the founders of a medical school

afterward absorbed by Columbia College, and a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1792 until 1808. Another interesting name is that of David Mathews. He was Mayor of New York in 1776, and was arrested and imprisoned accused of participation in the plot to assassinate Washington.

A survey of the Wallace patent was made in 1770 by Alexander Colden. In the same year surveys were made all through this part of the State, including the Edmeston patent and the Peter Middleton and Upton patents, by Robert Picken. A second survey of the Wallace patent was made in 1774 by William Cockburn and John Wagram, and according to this many of the early sales to smaller proprietors were made even as late as the sale by Peter Betts of lands in Unadilla village to Stephen Benton in 1804. Not only were many surveys made in 1770, but many patents dated from that year. The white man was prompt enough to avail himself of his opportunities, and the royal Governor was quite ready to encourage the business because of the large fees. These fees and what we nowadays know as "influence" appear to have been about all that was then necessary to secure a vast and fertile domain in the New York wilderness.

Hugh and Alexander Wallace were Tories of an uncompromising type, Hugh naturally from the office which he held. In August, 1776, they were apprehended by orders from Washington, because they had declined to take the oath of allegiance to Congress. Hugh was sent into Connecticut in care of Governor Trumbull, and Alexander to a place on the Hudson River. Alexander petitioned the Congress, saying his "private papers on the preservation of which the well being of his family prin-

cipally depends, are buried in the earth on Long Island in a place unknown to any but your petitioner and now in prison in New York, and will soon perish unless redeemed from their present state." His wife and eight small children on Long Island were "utterly destitute of that necessary assistance which so numerous a family must unavoidably want." They were obliged to quit the house that they had occupied, as the owner wanted it for himself, and thus the family would be without a home unless Wallace could return. Both he and Hugh were finally allowed to proceed to Long Island on parole, under an agreement not to take up arms against the colony. Here they remained while the war proceeded, and dispensed a generous hospitality.

Three years later the New York Legislature passed an act by which a large number of persons were attainted of treason, their estates were to be confiscated and they proscribed. If found on State soil they were to be seized and punished with death, "without the benefit of clergy," their crime being "an adherence to the enemies of the State." Hugh and Alexander Wallace were among the unfortunate persons thus named. Another was Sir John Johnson, son and heir of Sir William.

Except in the Susquehanna patent the name of Alexander Wallace is not encountered in Susquehanna history. He and his brother having been attainted of treason, the lands, had they been theirs, would have been confiscated, as was done with the Johnson lands in the Charlotte Valley, which had been left by Sir William to his brother and sister, and titles to which for the settlers afterward came directly from the State. But the Wallaces by this

time had ceased to have any title to these lands. Protected as they were by the British in New York, they appear to have continued their partnership until the war closed. When the British evacuated New York in November, 1783, Hugh went with them, and probably Alexander. Hugh died in Waterford in 1788.

It is probable that Alexander was never the actual owner of a patent that has carried his name to our times, and will carry it to remote generations of land-owners. It is much more obvious that Hugh was the real Wallace at first interested, and that another interested person, and eventually the sole one, was Gouldsborough Banyar. In some of the early road surveys the patent is called Banyar's Patent.

The history of many patents is curious in that the real owners frequently were not those to whom the patents were issued. Long before the Revolution the greed for land had become so sharp that a limitation had been imposed as to the amount which any one person could hold: this limit was 1,000 acres. An easy way out of the difficulty, however, was found. Accommodating friends acted as fictitious owners, and promptly made over to the real persons in interest the titles granted in their names. Certain facts point to this method in the case of the Wallace patent. It is known, for example, that in 1772, and at other times before the Revolution, Hugh Wallace and Banyar sold lands from this patent to the Rev. William Johnston, who settled in Sidney, and lots 61 and 62, comprising 100 and 384 acres respectively, to Robert McGinnis about the same time, and yet the name of neither appears in the list of those to whom the patent had been issued two years before.

Banyar was of English birth, and had come to America about 1737. He soon rose to be a man of note in the province. In 1755 he was a registrar of the Colonial Court of Chancery, and in 1753, 1756, and 1769 an officer of the Prerogative Court, which attended to the probate of wills and the granting of licenses of marriage. When Cadwallader Colden became acting Governor in 1769, he was Deputy Secretary of the Council, and when a riotous demonstration followed the arrival of the Stamp Act paper, his name appeared on a placard posted by Colden seeking to quiet the enraged people.

When the war came on, Banyar retired from the city to a place on the Hudson River. He was a Tory in his sympathies, and possessed large landed interests. As early as 1754 he had applied for a tract of 1,000 acres in what is now Cobleskill. All through the State land papers runs evidence of an earth hunger on his part, that was appeased in many parts of Tryon County. He was advantageously situated to realize his ambition, holding the office he did. With the advent of war Banyar's extensive holdings became a powerful incentive to discreet action. He escaped the fate of the Wallaces, but escaped narrowly. On January 15, 1776, his name appeared on a list of suspected persons who were to be arrested, and he was one of those from whom arms were taken. His home on the Hudson was at Red Bank, and later at Rhinebeck.

It is related that while he lived at Rhinebeck a British officer arrived from New York City with a sealed letter asking his advice as to the best method of attacking Esopus. He received the letter, entertained the officer and his attendants handsomely, and sent them away with a sealed reply which con-

tained this brief message: "Mr. Banyar knows nothing." This was an example of the prudence with which he bore himself throughout the conflict. When the war closed, he took up his home in Albany, and in Albany he continued to live until 1815, actively interested in internal improvements, and generously contributing to them. He died without children at the age of ninety-one. Worth, who knew him in Albany, as early as 1800, says of him:

Among other curious objects that attracted my attention during the early part of my residence in Albany, was a blind old man led about the streets by a colored servant. It was Gouldsborough Banyar, a most intelligent, wealthy, and respectable old gentleman. He was the most perfect type of the Anglo-American then living. He was the last of a race (a class of men now totally extinct), a race born in England, grown rich in America, proud of their birth and prouder of their fortune. He was a royalist in feeling (at the outbreak of the war) and doubtless in principle—his feelings it is believed underwent no change: his principles in the course of time became temperately and I may add judiciously modified by his interests. He had while in his office of Secretary obtained from the Crown many large and valuable tracts of land.

These lands were the source of his wealth. With the eye of intelligence sharpened by the peculiarity of his position he watched the course of events and like a skilful pilot steered between the extremes. He wisely kept a friend in either port and had always an anchor to windward. In short, he preserved his character from reproach on the other side of the water and his lands from confiscation on this. It is impossible, I think, to reflect a moment upon the position which Mr. Banyar occupied during the war of the Revolution, and the manner in which he sustained himself in it, without conceding to him a thorough knowledge of the world, great sagacity and great address.

For a long period the Banyar lands in the Susquehanna Valley were leased on the redemption plan ; that is, for a lot of say one hundred and sixty acres, $24 rent was annually paid, with the privilege —in some cases at least—of purchase at $400. Older residents of Unadilla remembered a gentleman named Dexter who used to come out annually from Albany to collect the rents, and on Sundays was certain to be seen in St. Matthew's Church. It was from Mr. Banyar that this church received the gift of a farm on the road to Sidney long known as the Church Farm. Some of the Banyar leased lands were not purchased until very recent times, and perhaps all have not yet been acquired in fee simple. By the terms of his will, the name of Gouldsborough Banyar must survive with ownership of the property, and thus there exists to-day an opulent gentleman of that name.

When the student of titles in this valley reaches the period at which purchases were made by settlers, he encounters besides Banyar's name, the names of other men who were well known as large landowners in this State at that period, and who lived chiefly about Albany and in New York. Best known among such names is Livingston. In Sidney a large tract was owned by Peter van Brugh Livingston. He died about 1792, and after that date we meet with John Livingston's name. John Livingston was one of the original stockholders of the Catskill turnpike. He sat in the Assembly in 1786 from Albany County, in 1788, 1790, and 1801 from Columbia County, and for several terms was a senator.

Another name associated with these lands is Van Vechten. Abraham van Vechten was an eminent

lawyer in Albany, a graduate from the office of John Lansing. Having been the first lawyer admitted to practice, after the adoption of the Constitution, he was familiarly called the "father of the New York bar." He was born in Catskill, educated in New York, and began to practise law at Johnstown, but soon removed to Albany, where he had much distinction. He served in the Legislature, was Attorney-General, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1821, and declined a seat on the Supreme Bench offered him by John Jay. He was born in 1761 and died in 1837.

John and Abram G. Lansing, other owners, belonged to an ancient Albany family. John Lansing was an eminent lawyer, a native of Albany; was often a member of Assembly, twice Speaker of the Assembly, a member of Congress, a delegate with Alexander Hamilton and Robert Yates to the Philadelphia convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, a justice of the State Supreme Court, Chief-Justice of the State, and Chancellor. He mysteriously disappeared in New York in 1829, and was supposed either to have been robbed and murdered or accidentally drowned.

IV

The First Settlers

1720–1772

IN the coming of the Scotch-Irish to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, the New York frontier received a new and vital addition to those human forces which preserved and expanded its patriotism during the Revolution. To the valley of the Mohawk and Schoharie men of this race had not yet come. Following the Dutch, who at Schenectady had planted the first considerable settlement beyond Albany, the Palatines, about 1720–25, or thirty years after Schenectady was destroyed by Frontenac, had arrived in those valleys—a hardy, industrious, stolid race, by whom wealth was easily wrested from the fertile soil that extended southward to Schoharie from Fort Hunter and which bordered the Mohawk for many miles around German Flatts. A few of the English left Manhattan Island and the Hudson Valley for the Mohawk, and to the Mohawk, long after the first Palatines, came others of German and Dutch origin, forsaking their earlier homes in the Hudson Valley. Following Sir William Johnson in the middle of the century also came a few Irishmen with many Scotch Highlanders of the Catholic faith. But these were mainly traders or officials and were seldom or never agriculturalists. These additions left the bulk of the Mohawk and Schoharie population still German and Dutch — perhaps three-fourths of it.

During the last years of the French War, the industry of these people had been so productive that, between the mouth of East Canada Creek and Tribes Hill, nearly 500 dwellings had been erected, with excellent farm buildings and large areas of land in an excellent state of cultivation. When the Revolution began, the whole valley was populous enough to be divided into four districts for organization and defence, each with a committee of its own—the Mohawk, Canajoharie, Palatine, and German Flatts districts, the latter being the most westerly and having for its chief village a town of seventy houses. How thickly populated the valley had become may again be seen in the chain of forts which stood there in 1779. Beginning with Fort Hunter and extending westward, there were in the order named, Fort Johnson, Fort Harrison, Fort Hendrick, Fort Herkimer, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler (on the site of Utica), Fort Stanwix, and Fort Bute, while, what was known as the Royal Block House, stood near the eastern end of Oneida Lake.

From these three elements—Palatine, Scotch-Irish, and Dutch—came the men who bore the shock of war when the conflict with England began. It was they who became patriots almost to a man; it was the houses and crops of these which were burned; it was they who were murdered or made prisoners, they who took the field against the invader and died at Oriskany, Klock's Field, and Johnstown. The ranks of the Tories, meanwhile, were recruited from the English, Irish, and Scotch Highlanders. By men of those races were organized the forces which, with Brant and his Indians, effected the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming; burned Springfield, German Flatts, and Can-

ajoharie; reconverted into a wilderness the upper Susquehanna; laid waste the Schoharie Valley and spread desolation through almost every settlement on the Mohawk west of Schenectady.

Among these frontier communities the ones planted by the Scotch-Irish on the Susquehanna formed the extreme outpost of civilization in New York. Of all these regions theirs was the most sparsely settled; they were themselves the most remote from contact with other settlers, occupying as they did the high lands of a new water-shed; it was upon them that the Indian and Tory raids in the Border Wars were first to fall, and it was their lands alone that became entirely depopulated—a state of annihilation to which no other part of the frontier was reduced. Who these men were and whence and how they came may therefore be set forth in detail.

The Scotch-Irish comprise a people who have exerted wide influence in American history. In the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century they were maintaining in the north of Ireland the stern faith of Calvin. Besides following the teachings of John Knox, they had a political faith devoted to freedom, as opposed to the oppression exercised by the English Crown. Unable to find peace at home, they at last concluded to emigrate to the New World. About 1720 the movement westward had reached large proportions. Douglas Campbell says, "ships enough could not be found to carry from Ulster to America the men who were unwilling to live except in the air of religious freedom." This migration bears, at several points, an interesting resemblance to the great Palatine influx from which the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, as we

have seen, had received their strongest tide of population.

Mr. Campbell shows that the Scotch-Irish influx continued half a century. Entire districts were almost depopulated. Within a period of two years, some 30,000 crossed the Atlantic. Many were well-to-do farmers. Others had been bred in Scottish universities. As a class, they were the equal of any emigrants who in those times sailed out of English harbors. To that Scotch-Irish emigration America owed General Henry Knox, John Stark, Anthony Wayne, John Sullivan, and George, James, and DeWitt Clinton. From the same stock were descended Patrick Henry and Daniel Boone, and so were Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, Hugh McCulloch, and Horace Greeley. Of those who landed in Boston from five ships in August, 1710, the larger portion went to New Hampshire, and in their settlement revived the name of the Irish town of Londonderry, memorable to them for its siege. Others went to Worcester, and others to Maine.

From the New Hampshire settlement came the men who built up Cherry Valley,* the first permanent settlement within the domain of Otsego County. John Lindesay having obtained in 1738 his patent of 18,000 acres, came into the country at once with his wife, his father-in-law, Lieutenant Congreve, and a few servants. Lindesay had been Naval Officer of the Port of New York, as well as

* Cherry Valley then formed part of Albany County, but from Albany in 1772 Tryon County was taken off and named in honor of the British Governor of New York, William Tryon, only to be called Montgomery County a few years later, after the patriot soldier who fell at Quebec. Tryon County, as formed in 1772, embraced a large territory that has since been divided into several counties—Otsego, Montgomery, Herkimer, Fulton, Hamilton, St. Lawrence, Lewis, Oswego, Jefferson, and parts of Delaware, Oneida, and Schoharie.

Sheriff of Albany County. During the first winter he suffered from want of food, but an Indian from Oghwaga relieved his wants by bringing food from the Mohawk Valley. Following him came a young clergyman named Samuel Dunlop, whose acquaintance Mr. Lindesay had made in New York City, and who in 1741 induced several Scotch-Irish families from Londonderry to emigrate to Mr. Lindesay's patent. Among them were David Ramsey, William Galt, William Dickson, and James Campbell.* By these men were laid the foundations of the Cherry Valley settlement which was to play so conspicuous a part in the later history of the upper Susquehanna.

It is believed that a log church was almost at once erected near the present Phelan house, and that Mr. Dunlop there opened a school. The local tradition is that he often taught his boys to scan Homer and Virgil as they attended him while ploughing in the fields. The settlement grew slowly. Ten years later only a few additional families—not more than five—had come in; but in 1754 an important accession was obtained in the Harpers, who came from Windsor, Conn. The father of the Harpers had gone to Maine in 1720 with other Scotch-Irish, and thence, owing to trouble with the Indians, had removed to Massachusetts. Gould †

*James Campbell, the ancestor of Judge W. W. Campbell, the author of the Annals, and of Douglas Campbell, was born at Londonderry, Ireland, in 1690, and was a son of William Campbell, of Campbelltown, Argyleshire, Scotland. William Campbell, a cadet of the house of Auchenbreck, engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, and escaped to Ireland, where he served as a lieutenant-colonel at the siege of Londonderry. James Campbell landed in Boston in 1728, and in 1735 removed to Londonderry, N. H., and thence to Cherry Valley.

† Jay Gould, the celebrated New York millionnaire, wrote a History of Delaware County just before he became of age, which was an enterprise supplementary to a map he had made of Delaware County. In

says they removed to Windsor in 1741. One of the boys was John, who, about 1760, went back to Connecticut to attend school at Lebanon, which was near Windsor, and here he enjoyed the acquaintance of an Indian boy whom he was afterward to meet on this frontier in quite different circumstances —Joseph Brant.

It was not until after 1763 that Cherry Valley enjoyed any marked increase. With the English conquest of the country now achieved, new confidence inspired the men who wished to people the fertile lands beyond the Hudson. In 1769 forty or fifty families, mostly Scotch-Irish, were living in the settlement, while smaller colonies in the same neighborhood could count up as many more, a large proportion of the latter being Germans, who had come from Schoharie and the Mohawk.

The settlers of this period who went beyond the head of the river found it necessary to employ certain boats which had long been used by traders and missionaries. They were called "battoes," a corruption of the French batteaux, and originally had been adopted as substitutes for the bark canoe, which was not strong enough to bear the weight of heavy merchandise. French traders had used them probably for a half century before they were employed by the Susquehanna pioneers. Those which English traders used were mostly built at Schenectady, white pine boards being used. The bottoms were made flat to adapt them to shallow water, and at each end

collecting his material he had valuable assistance from his friend S. B. Champion, of the Bloomville Mirror. In the spring of 1856 Mr. Gould had his manuscript ready for the printers and placed it in the hands of a Philadelphia house. A few weeks later the printing house was destroyed by fire and only a few proof-sheets of the book escaped destruction. At Roxbury he courageously rewrote the book and it was issued late in the same year.

they were sharp and higher than in the centre. Their length was from twenty to twenty-five feet, and the sides from twenty inches to two feet high. In the centre they were three and a half feet wide. Of these boats much has been read by all who are familiar with narratives of pioneer life at that time. Civilization had no more important tool.

Cooper, in his "Wyandotte," brings a family down the river in one of these boats and up the Unadilla to a stream that answers to Butternut Creek in 1765. He represents Captain Willoughby, with a force of mechanics and laborers, as following the Mohawk to Otsego Lake, from which the party went in boats to the mouth of the Unadilla, "which stream they ascended until they came to the small river that ran through the captain's estate." In the following spring the captain took his family out from Albany. He made visits to "Edmeston, of Mount Edmeston," and by the spring of 1775 the settlement numbered more than one hundred souls. The ensuing story relates to the arrival of seventy or eighty warriors, Mohawks and Onondagas, in the autumn of 1776, and the dispersion of the settlement to which, after the Revolution, the survivors returned.

Fiction though all this is, it is a fairly accurate picture of those times, in so far as pertains to dates, locality, and events. We know that in 1765 Joachim Van Valkenberg, whose family had been in the Mohawk Valley forty years, settled at the mouth of Schenevus Creek, where for many years he supplied food and shelter to incoming pioneers. On the Unadilla River, settlements had been attempted even earlier, at least in the upper part of the valley, which was entered by crossing the hills from the

upper Mohawk. From the Oriskany patent in 1724, one Squire Brown, whose first name has been lost, came with three or four families to occupy lands not far from the confluence of the two branches of the Unadilla, near where now is the village of Unadilla Forks. But in the following year these families were driven out by the Indians.

How soon another attempt was made is uncertain, but we may assume that when missionary work had been well begun at Oghwaga and in Oneida, the way was opened to settlers. Soon after Colonel Edmeston obtained his patent, Percifer Carr, in his employment, arrived with his family. He had sailed from England in the same vessel as John Tunnicliffe, ancestor of the well-known family of Richfield. This was as early as 1765. Carr began a clearing, and to him Cooper perhaps refers as one of those who composed the small community at Mount Edmeston. At South Edmeston is still preserved a clock which Colonel Edmeston brought to this country from England. To this locality in 1774 came Abel and Gideon De Forest, who seem to have belonged to the French Huguenot stock which had made still earlier settlements on the northern part of Manhattan Island, now known as Harlem.

The locality was not far from the scene of an incident of the French War—German Flatts, where in 1751 had arisen a village of sixty dwellings and about 300 souls. An attack was made on the settlement by a French officer named Belêtre on November 12, 1757. He aroused the settlers at three o'clock in the morning, burned their buildings, killed forty or fifty persons, and made prisoners of about 130. Belêtre, after killing all the cattle and horses, hastily retreated, and when Lord Howe

came up from Schenectady he found "nothing but an abandoned slaughter field." From this village, either before its destruction or soon after, settlers probably crossed the hills to the Unadilla—the distance being about ten miles.

The entire Mohawk Valley had then become a fairly populous place, from which a family now and then sought new land on the Susquehanna. In 1757 a French traveller between German Flatts and the mouth of the Mohawk found 683 farm-houses on the way, not including houses in the villages of Canajoharie, Fort Hunter, and Schenectady, the latter town having 300. Many of these dwellings were built of stone. Circumstances point to contemporary settlements on the Unadilla River above its mouth. Several families which came in after the Revolution are believed to have been here before it began. Patents having been issued, it was almost inevitable that settlements should be begun. Owners of patents desired first of all things to see their lands occupied. Besides Scotch-Irish, Germans came. We know that when the war began, some of the Unadilla settlers who fled before Brant, went to German Flatts instead of Cherry Valley.

In Richfield Springs, on the Schuyler patent, settlements as early as 1758 had been begun. Remains of them were found near Schuyler's Lake * after the war. A small improvement at the foot of the lake was known as the Herkimer farm, and the creek at the same place also bore the Herkimer name. Near the site of Richfield Springs had settled the family of Tunnicliffe on an estate to which they gave the name

* Now called Canadurango Lake. It lies near the village of Richfield Springs. On a map of 1756 it is called Canadurango Lake, which shows that its original name has been restored to it.

of The Oaks, used afterward as a name for Oaks Creek.* At the head of Otsego Lake, as early as 1762, a settlement had been planted, one of the men being Nicholas Lowe of New York, who for a time, according to Richard Smith, lived on the place. At the foot of the lake white men probably had lived at much earlier dates † than these—for the most part traders—and in 1761 John Christopher Hartwick had obtained his patent to the lands that still bear his name, but his deed from the Indians was dated in 1752. Mr. Hartwick, in attempting to take possession in 1761, settled at the foot of Otsego Lake, only to discover that this place was not included in his patent. In consequence, his actual settlement further south was delayed several years. In 1800 Mr. Hartwick committed suicide.

Throughout Otsego the Fort Stanwix treaty stimulated immigration at once. Here now was a vast and fertile territory which might be peacefully occupied. For two or three years the surveyor's chain and rod became familiar instruments. Care-

* Levi Beardsley's Reminiscences. Mr. Beardsley read law in Cherry Valley, where he devoted some thirty years to its practice. He served in the Assembly, and was twice elected State Senator, being president of the Senate in his last term. Mr. Beardsley, who had accumulated a large property, lost heavily on land investments—losses which he might have borne had he not become further involved by indorsements. Removing to Columbus, O., where he had a farm, he again lost through fire. Disposing of the land, he returned East, and spent his old age in New York City, where his Reminiscenses were published — a large volume filled with matter of much interest in Otsego County. It is written in an elevated and flexible style, and reveals an understanding at once vigorous and generous. It has a charm not always found in the writings of old men who have met with misfortune—being tolerant and sympathetic as well as intellectual, and it has not a trace of bitterness toward any human being. The reader closes it with a feeling that its author was an inspiring example of the old man beautiful.

† Cooper in The Deerslayer places them there in 1743-45. But these must have been traders.

ful and elaborate maps were drawn and parchment deeds executed.

Contemporary with the treaty were new settlers at the two ends of Otsego Lake, the Springfield one being occupied by Captain Augustin Prevost, who had served in the British army in Jamaica, and the one at the southern end by Prevost's father-in-law, Colonel Croghan. Captain Prevost was making improvements in May, 1769. He had built a log-house, had cleared sixteen or eighteen acres of land, and erected a saw-mill, "the carpenter's bill of which," says Smith, "came to $150." He had arrived early during the previous year, taking up a house which Nicholas Lowe had occupied. Sir William Johnson described him in 1769 as having "a good property." Three miles west of Prevost a Mr. Young, before 1769, had erected a saw-mill, from which Prevost probably got his lumber. Prevost brought in several families and employed them in making improvements.* Between him and Cherry Valley existed a German settlement of ten families who had come into the country in 1767. A man named Myers kept a tavern and established a pottery in what is now the town of Middlefield. Twelve families were living there in 1769.

Colonel Croghan, in the summer of 1769, had carpenters and other men at work building two dwellings and five or six other structures. While attempting to colonize his extensive tract, he lived on it for a few years with his family. About this time a man named Cully, from Cherry Valley, made a settle-

* At the time Springfield was burned, in 1778, the following were the heads of families who were driven out: George Canouts, Isaac Collier, William Staneel, George Mayer, Conrad Picket, Henry Bratt, David Teygert, Adolph Wallrath, Isaac Quack, John Spallsbery, Jonah Heath, Henry Deygert, George Bush, and a Mrs. Davis.

ment at the mouth of Cherry Valley Creek. Others in the same neighborhood were named Carr and Burrows. In the town of Maryland, on the Schenevus Creek, farms had been taken up, and the place had received its present name as early as 1769. The same appears to be true of Worcester.

Contemporary with Croghan was Colonel Staats Long Morris, who came to view and make plans for the Morris patent. With him came his wife, the Dowager Duchess of Gordon, their route into the country having been from Catskill over a road to the Schoharie or Charlotte River, and thence to the Susquehanna. Colonel Morris in 1770 had induced settlers to make their homes on his tract; among them André Renouard at Elm Grove, and Louis and Paschal Franchot in Louisville, which they named after the French King. The Franchots had recently come to America from France. In 1892 their last male descendant in the county died at Morris. Other Frenchmen appear to have followed. Cooper makes Leather Stocking refer to "one or two Frenchmen that squatted on the flats and married squaws." In 1777 followed Benjamin Lull with several grown-up sons, and then Jonathan Moore from Dutchess County. In the same year Ebenezer Knapp took up his home on Butternut Creek, and Increase Thurston soon followed him. Other families on this stream were named Brooks, Garret, and Johnson. The settlements formed by these men were known collectively as the Old England District.

With the survey of the Otego patent in 1769 preparations were made for a large immigration. With Smith and Wells, who were from Burlington, N. J., had come Joseph Biddle, William Ridgway,

and John Hicks. The survey completed, they began to bring into the country goods and building material. One of those whom they induced to settle was Joseph Sleeper, a Quaker preacher from their own State, who built the first saw-mill in what is now Laurens,* and also the first grist-mill. For erecting his grist-mill, Sleeper received an additional gift of 100 acres of land lying on both sides of Factory Creek, a tributary of the Otego. Sleeper was not only a preacher, but a surveyor, millwright, carpenter, stone-mason, and blacksmith, and built his mills himself. His patrons often lived thirty miles away. Sleeper intended to plant a Quaker colony around his mills, but the Revolution interfered with the enterprise. Brant was a frequent visitor at his house. Sleeper lived on friendly terms with all the Indians. William Ferguson belongs to this period in the settlement of Laurens. He was from Cherry Valley, as was also Joseph Mayall, who arrived in 1771 and was followed by others. Mayall had been employed by Smith and Wells as a chainbearer, and afterward in the war gained repute as a scout. By trade he was a weaver, and it is related that he used standing trees as supports for his loom.

Richard Smith was a frequent visitor to the Otego patent after making the survey—for once in 1773 and again in 1777. In 1770 he took title to 4,000 acres lying on both sides of the Otsdawa Creek, a

* Named after Henry or John Laurens. Henry Laurens was president of Congress in 1777–78. He was afterward captured by the British, imprisoned in the Tower of London, and exchanged for Lord Cornwallis. In 1782, with Jay and Franklin, he negotiated the treaty of peace. He was a native of South Carolina and died in 1792. His son, John Laurens, was aide and secretary to Washington, taking part in every battle of the Revolution in which Washington's immediate command was engaged.

few miles above its mouth. He owned another tract on Otego Creek, in the town of Laurens, on which he built a large house to which he gave the name of Smith Hall. This house was still standing in 1896. During his tour of the valley, he had for guide Joseph Brant, whose wife and child went with the party. Smith was a brother of Samuel Smith, the historian of New Jersey. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and served until 1776, when his health failed.

Near the mouth of Otego Creek about 1772 settled Henry Scramling, who took up 1,000 acres on both sides of the Susquehanna, and during the war was a second lieutenant in the Tryon County militia. Near the mouth of the Charlotte settled Henry Young, whose family appear to have been at Worcester, Mass., with the Rev. William Johnston thirty years before. Henry Scramling had two brothers, David and George, who came with him, either before the war or on his return after it. Some of the Scramling lands have never passed from possession of the family, who originally were from Fort Plain. George Scramling kept the first tavern in Oneonta, on a site where afterward stood the Peter van Woert residence. David Young was a brother-in-law of Henry Scramling, and with him came his brother, John Young. Another early Oneonta name is Stoughton Alger, who lived on land now known as the Bingham and Pierce farms, and John van Derwerker, who became a captain in Colonel Harper's regiment in the Revolution. Van Derwerker built the first grist-mill in the town, on what are now called the Morrell Flatts, remains of it being still visible. His daughter became the wife of John Young, who kept a hotel for many years.

The most of these Oneonta families were from the Mohawk Valley.

Captain Peter Bundy, of Salem, Mass., is said to have come to lands now a part of Otego in 1777, which is probably a mistake for an earlier date, as the war was then in progress. He settled here again after the war. Mr. Bundy brought a family of children with him, his household goods being conveyed on a sled shod with wood and drawn by oxen. Near Otego village a family named Ogden settled. They were from Saratoga County, where they had lived for perhaps ten years, and had a son named David who joined Colonel Harper's regiment in the Revolution as second lieutenant.

To the Scotch-Irish of Cherry Valley we probably owe the coming of the men who settled in what was long known as the paper-mill district of Unadilla. One of them was Dr. McWhorter, who as late as 1840 was living in Cortland County, then an octogenarian. He told Harvey Baker he had "studied medicine and commenced its practice in Unadilla" while that town was in Albany County, which fixes the date as before 1772. From this we may infer that at that time settlers had arrived in considerable numbers.

By the early summer of 1777 it is certain that this part of Unadilla had become what for the time was a village. A map of the valley made in the following year by Captain Gray indicates a number of dwellings as then standing, and calls the place Unadilla Town. Some of these families seem to have occupied farms afterward known as the Gould Bacon, Bundy, Deyo, McMaster, Arms, and Norman Foster farms. Soon after the Fort Stanwix treaty, three families were here, their names being

Woodcock, Sluyter (or Sliter), and Dingman. The Sliters came in 1770, and were from Poughkeepsie, where their ancestor had settled in 1663. Others soon came. Mr. Johnston, the founder of Sidney, induced families to follow him from the Mohawk Valley and others from Cherry Valley. One of these was his son-in-law, David McMaster, who afterward, if not then, took up a home on Unadilla soil. Before the war, and probably in 1772, Robert McGinnis acquired title to lots 61 and 63 of the Wallace patent and settled on them. He was afterward active in the British cause.

The family of Harper, of Cherry Valley, who were to become the stanchest patriots during the Border Wars, along with seventeen other persons, secured a patent in what was afterward named Harpersfield. It comprised 22,000 acres.* John Harper, the principal proprietor, in 1770 went over to the head of the Charlotte with his wife and a surveyor whom Governor Tryon had sent out. While the men were engaged in making the survey, Mrs. Harper erected a rude log-hut with bark roof, and spent several days and nights in it alone. The entire family came over from Cherry Valley in the following spring. Besides John, the father, and Abigail, his wife, there were nine children, including William, who became a member of the Provincial Congress; James, who took part in the war; Mary, who was made a prisoner at the massacre of Cherry Valley and carried into captivity; John, who held a colonel's commission during the Revolution; Joseph, who fought against the Indians in Harpers-

* The title-deed to this tract long remained in the possession of the Harper family. In 1861 it was destroyed in a fire at West Harpersfield. The seal attached to it was of the usual kind for that period, a thick piece of wax, round and large as a tea-saucer.

field and Schoharie, and Alexander, who fought at Joseph's side and was made a captain. After the war Alexander was a prominent land-owner in Delaware County, and later went to Ohio, where he founded a place called Harpersfield.

Of all the Scotch-Irish who settled on the upper Susquehanna we have the fullest account of the Rev. William Johnston. He was a native of Mullow Malo, Tyrone, had been seven years a student at Edinburgh University, and came to America before 1736, when under twenty-five years of age. He in time found his way to Worcester, Mass., where some of his countrymen formed a Presbyterian church, with him for pastor; but from the Congregationalists they met with violent opposition. When they had nearly completed a church edifice, it was attacked at night, chopped down and destroyed. An appeal for redress was met with reply that Mr. Johnston's ordination was "disorderly." Permission to rebuild was refused. The whole body of Scotch-Irish then left the place, many of them going with Mr. Johnston to Windham, near Londonderry, N. H., where in 1747 Mr. Johnston was made pastor of a young church, holding its first meetings in a barn. He served the church with "great faithfulness" until 1752, when, for want of proper support, he laid down his charge. At Windham he married Anna Witter Cummings, daughter of a physician in the British service, and said to have had an income of $600 a year, which was cut off during the Revolution.

From Windham Mr. Johnston found his way to Schenectady County, and with him went some of the Scotch-Irish. In that region he preached many years. That he knew the men of Cherry Valley is

clear enough, and that he should have acquired an interest in the Susquehanna region was natural, for at Schenectady lived many of the best-known fur traders, and not far from the place was the home of Sir William Johnson. Accordingly, in the summer of 1770 he came in by way of Cherry Valley. Accompanied by an Indian guide he went as far down as Oghwaga, where were missionaries with whose work he was familiar. He no doubt bore some message from Sir William Johnson, and through Johnson's influence aimed to establish friendly relations with the red men. He described the Indians as living on venison, fish, beans, and corn. Deer existed by the thousands and fish by the hundred thousand.

Returning to Schenectady, Mr. Johnston, from Mr. Banyar, "purchased a tract of 640 acres situated at the flats one mile east of the Unadilla Forks" (*sic*) for $1 per acre. On 250 acres of this land was white pine timber of the largest size. In the following year he went back to his land with his son Witter. In the autumn he concluded to leave his son with the three friendly Indian families living at the place, and returned to complete arrangements for bringing his wife and other children into the country. During the summer he and Witter had erected a log-house sixteen by twenty-two on the west side of what was afterward known as Brant Hill, and had cleared some land. Besides his wife he brought back in the spring four daughters and his son Hugh, born in Duanesburgh in 1763.

Other families soon followed them. Captain Gray's map shows for this settlement two mills which John Carr built on what is now known as

the Baxter mill site, near the mouth of Carr's Creek, the iron for these mills having been carried on his back by Carr himself from Otsego Lake. Another building at the same place was John Carr's dwelling, while farther west were a number of houses, one of which was Mr. Johnston's. In the account that has come down to us of the settlement at the time of Brant's visit in 1777, Brant's words of warning are: "I will give these five families forty-eight hours to get away. So long they shall be safe." By "five families" Brant meant those who would not declare themselves for the King. Dingman, Carr, and Woodcock were Tories. Of the five "rebel" families, we know the name of only two—Johnston and Sliter.

When the church at Worcester, Mass., was dispersed by the Congregationalists, Lincoln says many of its numbers "emigrated to the colony on the banks of the Unadilla in New York," from which it would appear that they were in advance of Mr. Johnston by many years. It is more probable that during the thirty years following the dispersion, they had remained with him in Windham and the Mohawk Valley. Three years after the Johnstons arrived, a young Indian poisoned himself from disappointment in love. He was buried in the ground set apart by the Johnstons for a cemetery, and his grave was the first ever opened in that ground. Mr. Johnston read a Christian burial-service over this young heathen child of the forest. A baptismal bowl of old blue china, which Mr. Johnston brought to America from Scotland, was in use for many years in the church at Sidney, and is now in possession of John Henry Johnston.

But the town of Sidney had been settled at another

point. Several families had taken up farms on the site of the future Wattles's Ferry. Sometimes the place was known as Albout, or Ouleout,* and sometimes as the Scotch Settlement. The earliest authentic date connected with it does not go back of the beginning of the war, but its origin seems to date from near the time of Mr. Johnston's arrival. These men undoubtedly came from Cherry Valley. None of their names has come down to us. Even the part which they took in the war is in doubt. Priest says they went to Cherry Valley, which implies that they were Whigs, but another statement is that they became Tories and went to Canada. It is not unlikely that both parties were represented in this little village.

The mills on Carr's Creek were not important mills, except as the earliest industries in all that region. Some years later Abraham Fuller built larger ones on the Ouleout at East Sidney, where now stand the mills long known as Lloyd's. The date given for this enterprise is 1778, which is, perhaps, too early, but if correct it shows that along this stream were many farms then in cultivation.

The foregoing is the available record of pioneers who invaded the Susquehanna before the great conflict. The settlements they made marked the farthermost advance westward in the province of New York. If we bear in mind the Fort Stanwix line, we can understand why the first settlement in Binghamton was not made until 1787; the first in Ithaca not until 1784; in Elmira, not until 1787; in Auburn, not until 1793, and in Buffalo not until 1794.

* Written Aulyoulet in 1768 and translated for Dr. Beauchamp as A Continuing Voice. In 1779 a stream "east of Unadilla" was called the Owarioneck, which meant Where the Teacher Lives. This was, perhaps, the Indian name of Carr's Creek.

Therein lies the special eminence of the upper Susquehanna lands as an old New York frontier.

By these men was initiated on this frontier that perpetual warfare of man against nature to which an actual end never will come so long as "water runs and grass grows." It is a familiar story of pioneer life and has often been described—that first warfare waged with the axe and fire against countless numbers of towering trees covering hills and bottom-lands with primeval growths. On sites where other giants had grown up and died of old age in the long and uncounted past, the pioneer, by felling these prides of the forest, literally cut out the space whereon to rear his humble home, its roof of bark, its walls of logs, its floor the bare earth.

Gradually he extended his cleared area and was able to plant corn and wheat, the blackened piles of half-burnt logs and the enormous stumps he could not extract making later in the season the only blemishes on the golden surface of his autumn fields. Beyond his clearing lay the narrow forest-borders of his home. From the smallness of his first expanse of cleared land, sprang a feature that became familiar to many frontier homes. It was well into the forenoon ere the sun could reach his cabin-door, and it was early in the second half of the day when the last rays of light vanished from his western windows, casting dark shadows from the adjacent forest over his small domain.

As time went on, the pioneer's problem was how to get rid of vast accumulations of timber in fields where he had felled the pine, the oak, and the maple. Enormous bonfires were lighted, and from the remains pot and pearl ashes were obtained. These fires made stirring scenes to look upon and must

have been a chief source of heightened pleasure for the small boy. On hill-sides as well as in valleys, conflagrations were lighted, and so vast were some of them as to brighten and make resplendent at night for miles around the hills across the valleys, the waters of streams, and the azure sky above them all. Not less familiar were the noises made by falling trees and the resounding axe-blows that were echoed back from neighboring hills.

V

Journal of a Tour in 1769

THE journal of Smith and Wells gives us not only an authentic description of settlements, but many other facts important to a history of the pioneers. Smith and his companion had left their home early in May for New York, and had proceeded up the Hudson in a sloop to Albany, and by the Mohawk to Canajoharie, or "to Scramlin's, which is nearly opposite to Col. Fry's." The journal often shows us where roads had been opened. The condition of the frontier roads proves, as nothing else can, how deep an impression had been made on the wilderness.

First of all roads to the Susquehanna, was the Cherry Valley one from Canajoharie, by way of Bowman's Creek, which had been begun soon after the founding of the settlement in 1740. A quarter of a century later Smith described it as from the Mohawk "the only wagon road to Lake Otsego." As early as 1768 there existed a road westward from Catskill to the Susquehanna, which we must accept as the beginning of a turnpike completed more than thirty years afterward. While at Catskill in May, Smith learned that the Duchess of Gordon and Colonel Morris had just gone by that route "to Cherry Valley and the Susquehanna with two wagons." On reaching Cherry Valley himself, Smith was informed that "there is a route from Kaatskill across to this line, namely: from Kaatskill to Akery, 8 miles; to Batavia, 12; to Red Kill, 8; from Red Kill to a lake at the head of the Mohawks, or main branch

of the river Delaware,* 12, and to Otego about 16; in all 56 miles." At "Yokums" Smith learned from Mr. van Valkenburg of a path to Schoharie, "the same which Col. Morris and the Duchess of Gordon lately took on horseback with their retinue."

At this period a primitive road also existed from Cherry Valley westward to Springfield, while another went to the settlement at Middlefield. Over the route from the Mohawk to Cherry Valley went many Connecticut people who, before the Revolution, settled in the Wyoming Valley. With the settlements that followed the Fort Stanwix treaty, came roads in various parts of the country. In 1777 there existed not only a footpath down the valley from Otsego Lake, but "some thing of a road along the river."† Another ran from the upper Otego Creek Valley to Otsego Lake. Richard Smith, Nathaniel Edwards, and others built it in the summer of 1773. The lake at Richfield was then connected with Otsego Lake, and elsewhere forests had been opened and hills crossed in order to provide routes shorter than those which followed the courses of streams. These roads, however, were scarcely more than narrow lines of clearing through the wilderness. They represented one of the two extremes in roads, of which the other is represented by macadam and asphalt. But in the Smith journal we find many other statements that light up the history of what to this generation is an unknown period in Susquehanna history, and among them these:

13th May, 1769—At Scramlin's we turned off from the river, pursuing a S. W. course for Cherry Valley. . . .

* Summit Lake is probably here referred to, but it is the head of the Charlotte instead of the Delaware.

† Affidavit of John Dresler, in the "Brant MSS." of the Draper Collection.

We met, on their return, four wagons which had carried some of Col. Croghan's goods to his seat at the foot of Lake Otsego. The carriers tell us they were paid 30 shillings a load each for carrying from Scramlin's to Capt. Prevost's, who is now improving his estate at the head of the lake. . . . There are farms and new settlements at a short distance all the way from the Mohawk river. In Cherry Valley there are about 40 or 50 families, mostly of those called Scotch-Irish, and as many more in the vicinity consisting of Germans and others.

14th—Being Sunday we attended Major Wells and his family to the new Presbyterian meeting house, which is large and quite finished, and heard a sermon from the Rev. Mr. Delap (*sic*), an elderly, courteous man who has lived in this settlement about 20 years. The congregation though not large, made a respectable appearance, several of them being genteely dressed. From our lodgings, about the center of the valley, down to the mouth of Cherry Valley Creek they reckon 12 or 14 miles, and in freshet one may pass in canoe from the house to Maryland. There are 3 grist mills and one saw mill, and divers carpenters and other tradesmen. . . .

16th—This morning we proceeded in Col. Croghan's batteau, large and sharp at each end, down the lake. . . . This situation commands a view of the whole lake and is in that respect superior to Prevost's. Here we found a body of Indians, mostly from Ahquahga, come to pay their devoirs to the Col. Some of them speaks a little English. . . . We lodged at Col. Croghan's, and next morning got all ready to go on the survey, Robert Picken, our other surveyor, being gone down to wait upon the Duchess of Gordon and Col. Morris, whose tract adjoins to our patent.

17th—We departed at 9 o'clock with two pack horses carrying provisions and baggage and one riding horse with men on chairs, carriers and servants, and two Mohawk Indians as guides, one of them Joseph Brant.* . . . Our

* Brant's home at this time was in Canajoharie, where he had lived since returning from the West in 1764. Theophilus Chamberlain, the missionary, when sick from exposure, had been Brant's guest, and says he found him "exceeding kind."

Indians in half an hour erected a house capable of sheltering us from the wet, for it rained most of the day and night succeeding.

Several days were spent in making the Otego survey and then the party returned to Colonel Croghan's house at the lake, from which in a few days they departed on their return home. They chose as their route the Susquehanna to Oghwaga and thence went to Cookoze on the Delaware, whence they proceeded to Easton, Trenton, and Burlington. Following are the most interesting points concerning the journey from the lake to Oghwaga:

May 25th—We finished and launched our canoe into the lake. She is 32 feet 7 inches in length and 2 feet 4 inches broad.

May 27th—We engaged Joseph Brant, the Mohawk, to go down with us to Aquahga. Last night a drunken Indian came and kissed Col. Croghan and me very joyously. Here are natives of different Nations almost continually. They visit the Deputy Superintendent as dogs to the bone, for what they can get. John Davies, a young Mohawk, one of the retinue, who has been educated at Dr. Wheelock's school in Connecticut, now quitted our service to march against the Catawbas.

May 29th—Myself, with Joseph Brant, his wife and child, and another young Mohawk named James, went down in the new canoe to our upper corner,* whilst the rest of the company travelled by land. This river from the lake Otsego hither is full of logs and trees and short crooked turns, and the navigation for canoes and batteaux requires dexterity.

May 31st—At 7 o'clock we decamped for Skenever's and hit the Susquehanna near two miles below. Then following the common Indian path we arrived at the landing opposite to Yokum's House at 1 o'clock. He is a Dutch-

* A mile or two above the mouth of Cherry Valley Creek.

man, but speaks good English, pays no rent as yet to Livingston, built the house, but found the orchard already planted by the Indians, who also planted one at the mouth of Otego. . . . The trees are ever tall and lofty, sometimes two hundred feet high and straight, but not proportionally large in circumference, except some white pines and a few particular trees of other kinds.* . . . In the afternoon we went over the river to Yokum's House. The orchard planted by the natives is irregular and not in rows. The Indian graves in the orchards are not placed in any regular order nor shaped in one fashion. One of them was a flat pyramid of about three feet high, trenched round. Another was flatted like a tomb, and a third something like our form. . . .

Yokum's Indian corn is planted but not yet come up. The Indians are not troublesome to him, though they often call at his house. He obtains his necessaries chiefly from Cherry Valley. Col. Morris and the Duchess lodged three nights at his house two or three weeks ago with a large train of attendants. They went over to view their tract at Unadilla, or, as some call it, Tunaderrah. Here we met with one Dorn, a Dutchman, with his family from Canajoharie going to settle at Wywomoc.† He informs us that 130 families from his neighborhood on the Mohawk river have actually bought there and are about to remove.

June 1st—Messrs Wells and Biddle this day marked out a path to the intended store house on the creek Onoyarenton. . . . This evening our bark canoe being finished, at one half after five o'clock myself, Joseph Brant, his wife and child embarked in her with some loading, and Mr. Wells with James, the other Indian, in a small wood canoe containing most of the Indians' baggage and our own. Enjoying a fine serene evening we descended the stream for two hours, about ten miles, to a bark hut, where we found a fire

* Eleven years after writing his journal, Smith added to the above statement the following note : "Some years afterwards John Sleeper and myself measured a birch tree growing in his meadow on the borders of Otego Creek and found it twenty-six feet in circumference."

† Wyoming.

burning. We passed the Adiquetinge on the left and the Onoyarenton on the right.

June 2nd—A bear came this morning near to us and was pursued by Brant and his dog, who, after some chase brought him in. This Mohawk it seems is a considerable farmer, possessing horses and cattle and one hundred acres of rich land at Canajoharie. He says the Mohawks have lately followed Husbandry more than formerly. In his excursion after the bear he says he was on the Onoyarenton and saw some good flats there. In an hour after our departure we arrived at the old field near the mouth of Otego, where we met William Ridgway.

We dined here in company with Mr. William Harper and Mr. Campbell, the surveyor, who are now running out Harper's patent. Ridgway and Hicks were likewise present. This field had been formerly planted by the Indians with corn and apple trees. A few of the latter remain scattered about. . . . . In three hours and three quarters from the mouth of Otego we reached a place on the East shore where we encamped. . . . Joseph being unwell, took some tea of the Sassafras root and slept in the open air.

June 3rd—We set out about seven o'clock, and in two hours we arrived at a small village of Mohiccons consisting of two houses on the right hand and three on the left, a mile above Unadilla. Here we went on shore and perceived the huts to be wretched and filled with women and children. They have cows and hogs and a little land cleared, with a garden fenced in and Indian corn planted very slovenly. Among the grass the cows were large and fat. . . .

At this village we left our wood canoe and engaged a good looking old Indian named Una to take us down in his canoe, and pilot over to the Delaware, which is his hunting country. He took a quarter of an hour to dress himself, his wife and little Son, and then we all embarked. These villagers could not speak English. . . .

At one o'clock we arrived at an Oneida village of four or five houses, called the great Island or Cunnahunter.

The men were absent, but a number of pretty children amused themselves with shooting arrows at a mark. The houses resembled great old barns. One squaw in the canoe suckles her son, though he seems to be between two and three years old. We saw two apple trees before a door of this village. . . . Forty minutes after three o'clock we passed by two Indian houses on the left, and just before us saw some Indians setting fire to the woods. Several single huts are seated on such spots, and some are now building houses, and apple trees are seen by these huts.

At five o'clock we entered Ahquhaga, an Oneida town of fifteen or sixteen big houses, just at the moment of the transit of Venus, which Mr. Wells observed with a telescope he brought for that purpose. We took our lodgings with the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Moseley. . . . This village has a suburb over the river on the Western side. Here is a small wooden fortress built some years ago by Captain Wells of Cherry Valley, but now used as a meeting house. . . . Each house possesses a paltry garden, wherein they plant corn, beans, watermelons, potatoes, cucumbers, muskmelons, cabbage, French turnips, some apple trees, salad, parsnips, and other plants. There are now two plows in the town, together with cows, hogs, fowls, and horses, which they sell cheap. We found the inhabitants civil and sober.

June 4th—Ahquhaga contains about 140 souls, and the Tuscarora town (three miles below) about the same number. At the last named place there is a shad fishery common to the people of Ahquhaga also. They tie bushes together so as to reach over the river, sink them with stones and haul them around by canoes. All persons present, including strangers, such is their laudable hospitality, have an equal division of the fish. . . . Some of the women wear silver brooches, each of which passes for a shilling, and are as current among the Indians as money. Brant's wife had several tier of them in her dress to the amount perhaps of ten or fifteen pounds. . . . Brant was dressed in a suit of blue broadcloth, as his wife was in a calico or chintz gown.

PART IV

The Border Wars Begun

1776–1777

I

Causes that Led to the Wars

1774–1777

WHILE the pioneers continued to take up land, and the missionaries pursued their labors, strained relations between the colonies and the mother-land advanced to the point of rupture. Even if war with England were to come, few anticipated that this remote and secluded land would be one of its scenes. But in a few years the Susquehanna settlers were all driven from their homes. Forest lands which their toil had turned into cultivated fields, nature was soon to begin her irresistible and mysterious work of restoring to the wild and primeval state.

When Sir William Johnson died, in 1774, he had seen more than a single warning that a storm was gathering in the sky, and that it might soon break in fury over the whole land. He had lived through the bitter years of the Stamp Act and its repeal; had observed the hostility engendered by the arrival of General Gage in Boston; had known of the Battle of Golden Hill and the Boston Massacre, and a few months before dying had heard of the casting of tea into Boston Harbor. Possessed as he was of a vast domain, and bound to the English Government by close political and personal ties, the situation may well have been the sternest that his strong and sagacious mind ever was called upon to face. His death has been attributed to suicide, but

this theory, which would account for its suddenness and the lack of information as to its cause, has never been well authenticated.

As the breach widened, it was seen that in Tryon County lived hundreds of patriots, and none more stanch than the Scotch-Irish of the Susquehanna, to whom hostility to England was a passion already strong, through inheritance. With the call for a Continental Congress to meet in September, 1774, prompt sympathy was shown. In the Palatine district, Colonel Guy Johnson, who had succeeded to Sir William's office, in vain endeavored to turn the current. In spite of him, the Palatine patriots, in August, a month after Sir William's death, openly declared for the Congress and for "the undeniable privilege to be taxed only with our own consent, given by ourselves or our representatives." In Canajoharie and German Flatts the people were almost unanimous in support of these sentiments. Late in April, 1775, came news of great import from Boston. The fight at Lexington had occurred, and at Concord "the embattled farmers" again had met the red coats.

As the British had lost 273 men, and the patriots only 103, here was a grave warning. Such was the alarm, that in May, Colonel Johnson's followers actually believed the Colonel was "in great fear of being taken by the Bostonians." In consequence Johnson began to fortify at Johnstown, but the men of Cherry Valley, unawed by his course, held a stirring meeting in their church. Not only grown men and women, but children, attended it, the chief orator being Thomas Spencer, an Indian half-breed interpreter, whom Campbell describes as speaking "in a strain of rude though impassioned elo-

quence." * In Harpersfield, a few months later, at the house of John Harper, a vigilance committee was formed, and the Palatine patriots sent a letter to the Albany committee declaring that they were resolved "to be free or die." †

Not only in Tryon County, but in Boston and elsewhere, the Americans had been prompt to realize the important part which the Iroquois might play if the quarrel came to a clash of arms. Steps to secure their sympathies were taken as early as 1774. The Mohawks were approached through the Stockbridge Indians, and Mr. Kirkland was depended on to look after the Oneidas. Communication with Brant was opened by his old teacher, Dr. Wheelock, but it led to a response as unsatisfactory as it was characteristic. Brant said he had not forgotten the prayers he had heard at Lebanon, that they all might "learn to fear God and honor the King."

Nor did the British overlook the Indians. Kirkland wrote from Cherry Valley, in the winter of 1774–75 that Colonel Johnson had received orders "to remove the dissenting ministers from the Six Nations until the difficulty between Great Britain and the colonies was settled." Colonel Johnson had already interfered with Kirkland's work, and was "unreasonably jealous."

The current of opinion, much as he sought to check it, steadily advanced in a direction hostile to Colonel Johnson. Late in May, 1775, he convened at Guy Park, his residence near Amsterdam, a con-

*The active men in Cherry Valley included John Moore, Samuel Clyde, Samuel Campbell, James Scott, Samuel Dunlop, Robert Wells, James Richey, and James Moore.

†Gould estimates the population of Harpersfield at this time as about fifty, which seems too low. No more than Stone and Campbell did Gould understand the extent to which the valley had been invaded before the war.

ference with the Indians, mostly Mohawks, to which came thirty chiefs and warriors from Oghwaga and other Susquehanna villages. He had now in readiness a domestic force of some 500 men, mainly Scotch Highlanders of the Catholic faith, and over them in command he placed Colonel John Butler.* The council soon adjourned, to meet at Cosby's Manor, near German Flatts, but from this point, during the summer, Colonel Johnson and his followers removed to Fort Stanwix. The current against him had become too strong everywhere, and when, late in June, he heard of the fight at Bunker Hill, he had no heart further to prolong resistance. Before the month ended, he reached Oswego, and thence soon went to Canada. Campbell says few of the Mohawks ever returned to their homes on the banks of the stream that perpetuates their name. They abandoned the graves of their ancestors and never again did their council-fires burn in that valley.

In July, 1775, when Colonel Johnson and the Mohawks reached Montreal, they had an interview with Sir Guy Carleton and Sir Frederick Haldimand. Brant, in 1803, declared that at this interview Haldimand said to the Indians: "Now is the time for you to help the King. The war has begun. Assist the King now, and you will find it to your advantage. Go now and fight for your possessions, and whatever you lose of your property during the

* John Butler was a native of Connecticut, but had lived for many years in the Mohawk Valley. Under Sir William Johnson he had served as Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and in the Niagara campaign of 1759 and the Montreal expedition of 1760 commanded the Indians under Johnson. He had large interests in land, but these possessions were confiscated after the war, and he returned to Canada. The English Government granted him a pension of $3,500 a year, with 5,000 acres of land.

war, the King will make up to you when peace returns." Only the Mohawks seem to have been favorable to these proposals at that time, and not all of them, since the Lower Castle Mohawks, of whom Little Abraham was the chief, had not followed Colonel Johnson to Canada. As for the other Nations, four of them, in the following spring, sent delegates to Philadelphia for an interview with Congress. In an address to the President they said they hoped a state of friendship might "continue as long as the sun shall shine, and the waters run." They gave to John Hancock, President of Congress, the name of Karanduaan, meaning the Great Tree, a name which they afterward always knew him by.

Colonel Guy Johnson was a strict and devoted Tory. Education and early associations had helped to make him a partisan of England. Never lacking in zeal for the King's cause, he was now inspired to new industry by direct instructions from London. On July 24, 1775, the Earl of Dartmouth informed him that it was the King's pleasure "that you lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them (the Six Nations) to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America, and to engage them in his Majesty's service upon such plan as shall be suggested to you by Gen. Gage, to whom this letter is sent, accompanied with a large assortment of goods for presents to them upon this important occasion." It was "a service of very great importance," and he was not to fail "to exert every effort that may tend to accomplish it," or to use "the utmost diligence and activity."

In August, 1775, the patriots under General Philip Schuyler, hoping to counteract Colonel Johnson's influence with the Indians, convened a preliminary

council at German Flatts, which met later in Albany. Colonel Barlow says about five hundred Indians reached Albany. He found them " very likely, spry, lusty fellows, drest very nice for Indians. The larger part of them had on ruffeled shirts, Indian stockings and shoes, and blankets richly trimmed with silver and wampum." On the day of the council they made " a very beautiful show, being the likeliest, brightest Indians I ever saw." Presents to the amount of 150 pounds worth of goods were made, and while the council was not wholly representative, the Indians solemnly agreed not to take up arms for either side. Of the Senecas, Mary Jemison says that for a year after the council " we were enjoying ourselves in the employments of peaceful times," obviously a continuation of those idyllic times she has described in another part of her book, when " for twelve or fifteen years the use of the implements of war was not known, nor the war whoop heard, save on days of festivity "—times when, as she declared, there was peace, " if peace ever dwelt with men."

There is no doubt that the Indians who were present acted in good faith in their professed friendship. When finally won over to the British in the summer of 1777, the entreaties made to them succeeded for two reasons. One was a desire to be revenged for their heavy losses at the battle of Oriskany; the other, British appeals to their avarice.

The colonists had some hope of retaining the friendship of Sir John Johnson, Sir William's son and heir. It was believed that self-interest alone might make him cast his lot with them. But in the autumn of 1775, when approached on the subject, he replied, that " sooner than lift his hand against his King, or sign any association, he would suffer

his head to be cut off." Sir John's Toryism was sincere. He had been knighted by George III., as a special compliment to his father. Nothing remained to cement his attachment to the royal cause. Indeed, Sir John bore the financial test. Stone could not doubt that he was a Loyalist from principle, "else he would scarcely have hazarded as he did, and ultimately lost, domains larger and fairer than probably ever belonged to a single proprietor in America, William Penn alone excepted." Sir John remained in the Mohawk Valley after Colonel Johnson's departure, but finally was arrested, and then released on parole. In May, 1776, he took alarm at the outlook, and fled precipitately, leaving behind him the family Bible, which contained the evidence that, unlike other children of Sir William, he was legitimate. Four months before his flight he had proposed to Governor Tryon and Tryon to Lord George Germaine that he "muster five hundred Indians to support the cause of government and that these with a body of regulars might retake the forts."

The immediate cause of Sir John's flight was the arrival of Colonel Dayton at Johnstown with a part of his regiment, under orders to arrest him. With a large number of his followers, Sir John fled northward through the unbroken forest to the Sacondaga, and thence followed the upper waters of the Hudson, avoiding Lake Champlain, since he did not know in whose possession it then was—a journey lasting nineteen days, in which the party encountered severe suffering from long marches over difficult ground and from want of food. Sir John was soon made a colonel in the British army, and organized a force called the Royal Greens, composed of Loyalists who

had fled from the New York frontier, mainly former tenants and dependents of his estate.

The course taken by the red men who followed Colonel Johnson to Canada is not difficult to understand. The Mohawks in particular, and the other Indians, except for a short period, had been allies of the English for a century. To them the complaints of the colonists about taxation without representation, and the throwing of tea into Boston Harbor, were quite beyond understanding. The men of Boston resisting the soldiers of General Gage were like the French of Canada who had stormed English forts on the northern frontier; they were at war with the King of England, their friend who "lived over the great lake." Even the Oneidas, the most of whom adhered to the patriots, said they could not understand the war. Sending their love to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, they described the quarrel as "unnatural." "You are two brothers," they said, "of one blood. We Indians cannot find, nor recollect in the traditions of our ancestors, the like case or similar instance." *

The attitude which the Oneidas maintained through the war, is clearly traceable to the influence of the New England missionaries, and notably to Kirkland. Among the Indians who had been edu-

* Of these friendly Oneidas, the most interesting and celebrated was Skenando, one of the accomplished warriors of that nation, who for long years after the Revolution continued to be known as "the white man's friend." He survived until 1816, when his age was reputed to be one hundred and ten years. Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, had converted him before the Revolution, and he remained a Christian ever afterward. Not long before his death he said to a friend who had called upon him: "I am an aged hemlock. The winds of one hundred winters have whistled through my branches. I am dead at the top. The generation to which I belonged have run away and left me. Why I live the Great Good Spirit only knows. Pray to my Jesus that I may have patience to wait for my appointed time to die." Skenando's grave is at Clinton, Oneida County, alongside that of Kirkland.

cated at Lebanon for missionary work was Joseph Johnson. In 1775 he received from the Provincial Congress a message directed to the Oneidas, and about the same time the General Assembly of New Hampshire instructed him "to use his utmost endeavors to brighten the chain of friendship which has for many years subsisted between us and them." With a letter from Dr. Wheelock he went to Cambridge in February, 1776, to see Washington, who wrote him a letter that he could show to the Six Nations:

> You have seen a part of our strength, and can inform our brothers that we can withstand all the force which those who want to rob us of our lands and our homes can send against us. You can tell our friends that they may always look upon me, whom the whole United Colonies have chosen to be their Chief Warrior, as their brother.

Washington further said—and this is important in the light of the steps taken by the British Cabinet to induce the Indians to fight with them—

> Tell them that we don't want them to take up the hatchet for us, except they choose it; we only desire that they will not fight against us; we want that the chain of friendship should always remain bright between our friends of the nations and us.

Samson Occum, the Indian who had now risen to great repute as a teacher and preacher for his people, also gave Johnson a letter, in which he said:

> The former kings of England used to let the people of this country have their freedom and liberty; but the present king of England wants to make them slaves to himself, and the people of this country don't want to be slaves, and so they are come over to kill them, and the people here are

obliged to defend themselves. Use all your influence with your brethren not to intermeddle in these quarrels among the white people.

In spite of these appeals it is not difficult to understand the confusion of mind which the conflict gave to the Indians. These unlettered men could see plainly that even the province of New York was not bound as a unit to the cause. Here dwelt many friends of the King, eminent and honored citizens of the province, who steadfastly adhered to the royal cause. Too much should not have been expected of the Indians. Their wisest course unquestionably would have been to remain neutral, but this to an Indian was almost impossible. First, of all things, he loved war. It was his trade, and he excelled in it. It was his accomplishment and delight, the fountain, indeed, of all things that to him seemed glorious and honorable. When, finally, in 1777, the main body cast their lot with the King, it is to be said to their credit that they were keeping the ancient "covenant chain." With the close of the conflict, when nothing but ruin and despair remained, they might have declared with a pride quite as just as the pride of Francis I. after Pavia: "All is lost save honor."

II

Why Brant Came to the Susquehanna

IN the warfare that soon desolated the Susquehanna Valley, a leading part was taken by Joseph Brant. The story of his life presents one of the most attractive narratives in the annals of the Iroquois. Stone's stately monument to his memory had been fairly earned. Brant was a man of real capacity for leadership, and, by nature, was masterful. He had initiative in enterprise, great personal charm, and for success in civilized life was well endowed. He was now to enter a region which he had often visited from boyhood, and he was still a young man.

Brant, whose Indian name was Thayendanegea, was born about 1742, on the Ohio River, to which his parents had gone from the Mohawk Valley, his father and mother being full-blooded Mohawks. On becoming a widow, his mother had returned to New York with Joseph and his sister Mary, commonly called Mollie, following the Susquehanna route from the head-waters of the Ohio. She settled at Canajoharie, where she married an Indian named Carrihogo. Stone believes that Nickus Brant, a Canajoharie chief of character and celebrity, was the father of Joseph.*

* The Indian name of Brant's father, as given by Stone, was Tehowaghwengaraghkwin, a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf Tribe. Brant was "of the noblest descent among his nation."

The Clinton papers contain many references to Indians who bore the name of Brant. On a deed dated in 1760 is found the name Nicolas Brant, who was described as "of the Beaver." At an Indian council in 1765 held at Canajoharie, it was recorded that an Indian called "Old Brant" had "flung a belt to let them know that it was their desire to their young men not to stir or move until such time as they should consent." An Indian writing from New York in 1764 to Sir William Johnson, sent his regards to Rac-Soutagh, who, in a parenthesis, was described as "Brant." A paper dated in 1755 has signed to it the name of Brant. Sir William Johnson's statement of expense in 1760, sent to the British Crown, has among its items: "To Old Brant, chief of Canajoharie, in lieu of clothing for his services, 6 pounds," and again, "to Brant of Canajoharie to buy provisions, 6 pounds." Another and later item in the same year is this: "To Brant's son two days after his father's death, 12 shillings."

In the veins of Joseph Brant ran the blood of Indian chiefs of high distinction in the annals of the Iroquois. Of his grandfather, a portrait is reproduced in this volume from a mezzotint of the period—Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow, "King of the Mohawks, alias King Brant"—who was one of the five kings whom Colonel Peter Schuyler, in 1710, took to England. These men of the forest, as already stated, became in London the lions of social and public life, much as Joseph Brant himself was twice to become two generations afterward. Of Brant's visit an account was given in the *London Magazine* for July, 1776. Stone infers that it was written by Boswell, the biographer of Samuel Johnson, Brant

Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow, King of the Mohawks (1710), alias King Brant, Joseph's grandfather.

Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, Emperor of the Six Nations (1710).



E Tow O Koam, King of the River Indians, or Mohigans (1710).

Joseph Brant in 1805. His age, sixty-three.

FOUR EMINENT NEW YORK INDIANS

having become intimate with him. The visit inevitably recalled the one made by the five Indian kings, of which Steele wrote an account for the *Tatler* and Addison one for the *Spectator*. As the Queen's Court was then in mourning, the Indians followed the English custom of wearing black underclothes, over which, instead of a blanket, they had a mantle of scarlet cloth edged with gold, a present from the Queen.

Brant's sister, Mollie, according to Indian custom, had become the wife of Sir William Johnson. She bore the familiar title of "the Indian Lady Johnson," and lived with him in a state of felicity down to his death in 1774. Stone gives as follows the tradition of the Mohawk Valley as to the "rather wild and romantic" manner in which the acquaintance had begun:

> She was a very spritely and very beautiful Indian girl of about sixteen when he first saw her. It was at a regimental military muster where Mollie was one of the multitude of spectators. One of the field officers coming near her on a prancing steed, by way of banter she asked permission to mount behind him. Not supposing she could perform the exploit, he said she might. At the word, she leaped upon the crupper with the agility of a gazelle. The horse sprang off at full speed, and clinging to the officer, her blanket flying, and her dark tresses streaming to the wind, she flew about the parade-ground swift as an arrow, to the infinite merriment of the collected multitude. The baronet, who was a witness of the spectacle, admiring the spirit of the young squaw, and becoming enamoured of her person, took her home as his wife.

It was under Sir William's influence that Brant as a boy went to Dr. Wheelock's school. He was a student there from August, 1761, until July, 1763.

Fifteen other Mohawk boys, and ten or more boys from other Indian tribes, also attended this school. One of them was William Johnson, a half-breed son of Sir William, and another was Moses, who afterward conducted the Indian school at the foot of Otsego Lake. Dr. Wheelock wrote to Johnson that Brant was "indeed an excellent youth," and he had "much endeared himself to his teacher."

On returning to the Mohawk Valley, in 1763, Brant was employed by Sir William as an interpreter, and Sir William's accounts with the Crown show that for some years he was in receipt of £83 per annum, with other payments for extra services. He appears to have become a leader among the Indians of the valley at a very early age. In the autumn of his return from Lebanon, when a line of patent was being run, the Indians were dissatisfied, and the Clinton manuscripts contain the following account of Brant's participation in the dispute: "A few Indians, joined by Joseph Brant and some other young ones, ran and prevented their proceeding, and I expected nothing but that chain and compass both would go to wreck. However, the storm blew over, not without great abuse."

It was while serving as interpreter to Sir William that Brant went down the Susquehanna Valley as guide to Richard Smith, which would seem to indicate that Johnson had placed Brant at Smith's disposal. At Canajoharie, Brant owned a farm with a frame dwelling for his home. Its cellar-walls were standing as late as 1878 and showed the remains of a fireplace. In size the structure was about 14 feet by 16. In 1772 his wife died and he removed to Fort Hunter, where he assisted Mr. Stuart, the missionary, in making translations into Mohawk of

the Catechism and Prayer-book, and became a communicant of Mr. Stuart's church. A year or so later he desired Mr. Stuart to marry him to the half-sister of his deceased wife, but Mr. Stuart refused to do so. Brant then found a German minister to perform the ceremony.

Brant's history from this time until his arrival on the Susquehanna in November, 1776, shows that the conduct of the Mohawks in the early years of the war had for moving cause, not so much a desire to plunder settlements and murder pioneers as to secure redress for land grievances. Since the conclusion of the Fort Stanwix treaty, there had been chronic trouble over lands around the Mohawk villages. Sir William Johnson had earnestly desired to mend these matters, but he died without succeeding.

Johnson's correspondence shows with what pains he had espoused the Mohawk cause. In October, 1769, he wrote to the acting governor, Cadwallader Colden, that Sir Henry Moore, the governor who had just died in office, promised to "take some measures for effectually securing to the Mohawks and Canajoharies the lands in and about their villages." Johnson was persuaded that Colden would do "whatever was best for that end" and enclosed the surveys which he had had made by direction of Moore. In a later letter he said the work "should certainly be done in the way that is most likely to be effectual, as well as satisfactory" to the Indians, and he urged "the strongest security against any future attempts to deprive them" of their lands.

Matters were still drifting when, in July, 1774, at a council held in Johnstown, and attended by about six hundred Indians, the chief of the Canajoharies made complaint against "that old rogue, the dis-

turber of our village, George Klock," and referred to "the many artifices he has made use of, to cheat us of our lands, and to create dissensions among ourselves." Johnson replied that he was "authorized to tell them that Klock's conduct was disagreeable to the King." When this council was about to disperse, Johnson was suddenly seized with illness, and early in the evening of the same day he died. After the funeral, which was attended by nearly two thousand persons, Gouldsborough Banyar being one of the pall-bearers, Johnson's successor, Colonel Guy Johnson, his son-in-law, gave the Indians assurances that their complaints "should be laid before government."

Whatever Colonel Johnson may have done, it is clear that no results had been reached in November, 1775, when Brant and other Indian chiefs, with Colonel Johnson and Captain Tice, sailed for England. They crossed in the same ship on which Ethan Allen and other prisoners taken at the Battle of the Cedars were conveyed to England. Two speeches on the subject of lands were made in London by Brant before Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary, who was afterward to have charge of the conduct of the war in America. The first, made March 17, 1776, contains the following words:

> We have crossed the great lake, and come to this kingdom with our Superintendent, Col. Johnson, from our Confederacy, the Six Nations and their allies, that we might see our Father, the Great King, and join in informing him, his councillors, and wise men, of the good intentions of the Indians, our brethren, and of their attachment to his Majesty and his government. . . .
>
> Brother. The Mohawks, our particular nation, have on all occasions shown their zeal and loyalty to the Great

King, yet they have been very badly treated by his people in that country, the City of Albany laying an unjust claim to the lands on which our Lower Castle is built, as one Klock and others do to those of Canajoharie, our Upper Castle. . . . We also feel for the distress in which our brethren on the Susquehanna are likely to be involved by a mistake made in the Boundary we settled in 1768. And also concerning religion, and the want of ministers of the Church of England. We have only, therefore, to request that his Majesty will attend to this matter; it troubles our nation and they cannot sleep easy in their beds. Indeed it is very hard when we have let the King's subjects have so much of our lands for so little value, they should want to cheat us in this manner of the small spots we have left for our women and children to live on. We are tired out in making complaints and getting no redress.

The second speech was delivered on May 7th, and in a report of it "wrote down as the same was dictated by the before named chief," occur the following passages:

Brother. When we delivered our speech, you answered in few words, that you would take care and have the grievances of the Six Nations, on account of their lands, particularly those of the Mohawks and Oughquagas, removed, and all those matters settled to our satisfaction, whenever the troubles in America were ended, and that you hoped the Six Nations would continue to behave with that attachment to the King they had always manifested; in which case they might be sure of his Majesty's favor and protection. . . .

We are not afraid, brother, or have we the least doubt, but our brethren, the Six Nations, will continue firm to their engagements with the King, their father. . . .

Brother. As we expect soon to depart for our own country, having been long here, we request you, and the great men who take charge of the affairs of government, not

to listen to every story that may be told about Indians, but to give ear only to such things as come from our chiefs and wise men in council.

In the second of these speeches it is plain that Germaine, through his promise to redress these grievances after the war, and his promises of the King's favor and protection, made sure of Brant's adhesion to the English cause. To support that cause was now not an ancient privilege, but a newly awakened patriotic sentiment, founded in self-interest. Probably on Germaine, more than on any other man, must responsibility rest, for Brant's destructive zeal in the border warfare. Germaine's record was already bad. At the battle of Minden, on the Continent, he had won unhappy eminence. He had the rank of lieutenant-colonel and was cashiered for cowardice. Americans have little cause to hold his name in anything but opprobrious remembrance. The most vigorous measures against the colonists had his support, including not only the enlistment of the Six Nations, but the hiring of the Hessians, and the winning over of Arnold to treason. Toward him was pointed the finger of the Earl of Chatham in that memorable speech on the American war:

> But, my lords, who is the man, that, in addition to the disgrace and mischiefs of the war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage? to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitants of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment.

During his London visit, Brant had an eminent social success. Among those whom he met were James Boswell, the biographer of Samuel Johnson, and Romney, the artist, to whom he sat for a portrait ordered by the Earl of Warwick.* A drawing of Brant was made at this time for Boswell, which shows him attired as an Indian chief. It was engraved for the *London Magazine* and published with an account of Brant's visit which has been attributed to Boswell.

Everything possible was done in England to please Brant, and the Indians who went with him. Colonel Johnson's account of the expenses connected with the visit, as afterward sent to the English Government,† contains several interesting items. The board-bill for a part of the visit, which extended over six months, amounted to £207. Travelling expenses to Windsor and other places were £82. There was an apothecary's bill of £9, a jeweller's bill of £4, pistols that cost £14, and clothing costing £25. When the Indians sailed for home, "articles laid in for their accommodation on board, while returning to New York," cost £27 11s, and "other supplies on ship," £22 10s.

Returning in May, 1776, starting twelve days after Sir William Howe sailed away to take command in America, Brant reached Staten Island in July, and joined the British forces under General Tryon. He was stationed for a time in Flatbush, where, as the story is told, he one day tasted a crab-apple, puckered up his mouth, and exclaimed: "It is as bitter as a Presbyterian." This prejudice was

* A reproduction of this portrait appears as the frontispiece of this volume.

† A copy exists among the "Johnson Manuscripts" in the State Library.

an obvious outgrowth, not only of his Church of England associations, but of his dislike of the Boston "rebels," who, in the main, were of Calvin's faith. In November of this year he made his way to the first scene of his potent activities in the war —the upper Susquehanna Valley. Brant's manner of dress and his personal appearance at this period have been described by Captain Snyder:

> He was a likely fellow, of a fierce aspect—tall and rather spare—well spoken, and apparently about thirty years of age. He wore moccasins, elegantly trimmed with beads, leggings and breech-cloth of superfine blue, short green coat, with two silver epaulets, and a small laced round hat. By his side hung an elegant silver mounted cutlass, and his blanket of blue cloth, purposely dropped in the chair on which he sat, to display his epaulets, was gorgeously decorated with a border of red.

Some of the Six Nations had already arrived at Oghwaga. Late in the winter of 1775 and 1776, while Brant was in London, many of the Mohawks returned by way of Fort Niagara* and took up head-quarters at Oghwaga. Thus they came to lands which were their own. In no sense were they invaders. They came by a route that was not the most direct to the frontier settlements, for the key to the Mohawk Valley was Fort Stanwix, but this was in the hands of the Americans. As long as the war continued, the Susquehanna route was frequently employed.

By the summer of 1776 a considerable body of Mohawks had reached Oghwaga, and citizens of Cherry Valley, in a petition to the Provincial Congress, de-

* Fort Niagara lay at the mouth of the river Niagara, on a point of land jutting out into Lake Ontario. It was already an old fort.

clared, on information received "from missionaries and Indian friends," that the settlers were "in imminent danger of being cut off by the savages." Some thirty of the able-bodied men of Cherry Valley had already joined the patriot army, and Captain John Wisner had enlisted twenty men elsewhere in the Susquehanna Valley. Thus the inhabitants were left "in a defenceless condition." Immediate aid was asked for, "as the inhabitants of the Old England District and Unadilla are daily flying into our settlement, so that we shall immediately in all appearances have an open, defenceless, and unguarded frontier." Before the summer was ended, Captain Winn was sent to Cherry Valley with a company of rangers.

III

Brant's Arrival in Unadilla

1777

IN November Colonel Guy Johnson, who had returned from London with further instructions in line with those the Earl of Dartmouth had given him the year before, sent word to Germaine that, with the approbation of General Howe, he had "lately dispatched in disguise one of my officers with Joseph, the Indian chief, who desired the service, to get across the country to the Six Nations." He had hopes of their getting "through undiscovered, and of their preparing the Indians to co-operate with our military movements."

News that Brant had reached Oghwaga went on to Cherry Valley, whence it was forwarded to the Provincial authorities at Kingston, with further word that "'tis said he is to return to Lord Howe." The alarm spread rapidly throughout the frontier settlements. No doubts could longer be entertained as to the sympathies of the Indians, for they had raised the British flag at Oghwaga. At Cherry Valley the Campbell house, being the largest in the settlement and situated on elevated ground, was now fortified. An embankment of earth and logs was constructed enclosing the dwelling-house, two block-houses, and two large barns. The doors of the house were made

double, and strong shutters were put up at the windows. Complaints came in from Oghwaga during the winter that the Indians had not been paid for certain lands sold by them to George Croghan for the benefit of "the late General Brideport." * They had accepted Croghan's note, and "the said lands had since been patented to others under the great seal of the State of New York." They desired that justice might be done and "their minds quieted." These complaints referred to the grievances of the Oghwaga Indians, mentioned by Brant in London.

Other reports indicated a more hostile spirit, and a committee of the Provincial Congress in February, 1777, reported that it was "necessary to provide measures for apprehending Joseph Brant." In fact, a resolution was offered that "it will be of great service to the American cause to apprehend Joseph Brant; wherefore no cost should be spared for that purpose, and that it will be of use to recommend to General Schuyler, Mr. John Harper, of the County of Tryon, as the proper person to be employed in that service, the said John Harper being, as this committee are well informed, very intimately acquainted at the Oghwaga Castle, and warmly attached to the American cause." The report was recommitted two days later and another made

* So printed in the journals of the Provincial Congress, but an obvious error for Major-General John Bradstreet, who just before his death had obtained an extensive tract from the Oghwaga Indians—some 300,000 acres—lying in part in the western portion of the present town of Sidney. General Bradstreet had won his rank in the French and Indian War. Many years after the Revolution some of these lands were claimed by a granddaughter of General Bradstreet, who came over from Ireland to prosecute her suit. Although she did not succeed, many settlers were ruined in their estates through the expenses caused by litigation in which they were defendants.—Brant MSS. in the Draper Collection.

in its place. Harper and Brant having been schoolmates at Lebanon, it was thought Harper might succeed in negotiations, and accordingly he departed with a friendly letter. The two men had then been ten years out of Dr. Wheelock's school. Both had seen something of the world, and nothing had occurred to disturb the friendly relations they had enjoyed at Lebanon.

An account of this visit was written by Colonel Harper himself. He set out on February 17, 1777, with one Indian and one white man, and went "in order to discover the motions of the enemy." Gould says Harper was accompanied as far as the Johnston Settlement by a regiment of militia, which he left at the settlement to await further orders while he proceeded to Oghwaga. Harper's statement that he was accompanied only by one Indian and one white man, referred only to that part of the journey made on Indian territory. Harper says he gave private orders to the captains of the several companies under his command, "to be in readiness at the shortest notice by me in order to oppose the aforesaid Brant and his party." On arrival at Oghwaga he "found the reports well grounded," and wrote to the Provincial Congress that "in order to present your letter in the most friendly manner, we killed an ox for to make a friendly entertainment, which had the desired effect." The letter which Harper bore was in part as follows:

> It gives us real concern that George Croghan has abused your confidence and defrauded you of money due you on his note of hand. He has treated many other subjects of this State in the same manner: first running greatly in debt, and then privately removing out of its jurisdiction. The great council will, however, when the important business

which at present engages all its attention shall admit, endeavor to secure your debt.

Brothers, the great council never will suffer you to be defrauded of your lands; but will severely punish all who attempt it, and you may safely depend on our protection. If a settlement should be attempted, the great council will order the intruders to be removed.

Brothers, we are not unmindful of your wants, or your former request for ammunition. We shall always be pleased when it is in our power to assist you; and we now send you 100 weight of powder, which you will accept as a proof of our sincerity and regard.

Brothers, rely on our justice, protection, and friendship. Farewell.

Harper understood the Indian language, and before delivering this letter made an address, using the Indian gestures. For the entertainment he painted his face, joined in the ceremonies, and wore Indian dress. At the close of the feasting, a crown made of a belt and decorated with beads was formally placed upon his head, signifying that he was entitled to a voice in the deliberations of the Six Nations—an honor conferred upon only one other white man—Sir William Johnson. The Indians said they were sorry the frontiersmen had been troubled, and left an impression on Harper's mind that they would take no part against the patriots in the conflict with England. The Indians at Oghwaga as yet mainly sought to secure justice in their land affairs, and it is to be remembered also that they told Colonel Harper they had been forbidden by Colonel John Butler from injuring any of the frontier settlements.

On his return Colonel Harper encountered, near the mouth of Schenevus Creek,* a party of Indians

* So named after an Indian who lived and hunted on the stream.

to whom he represented himself as a friend. Gaining their confidence, he obtained an admission from them that they contemplated the destruction of the Johnston Settlement. Colonel Harper, who appears to have been returning alone, hastened to his home, where he obtained seventeen men and went back to surprise the Indians while they were asleep at night. He captured ten men and took them to Albany. The Rev. Stephen Fenn, for many years a minister at Harpersfield, who had the account from Harper himself, has described as follows the capture of these men:

> Daylight was beginning to appear in the east. When they came to the enemy, they lay in a circle with their feet towards the fire in a deep sleep; their arms and all their implements of death were stacked up, according to the Indian custom, where they lay themselves for the night; these the colonel secured by carrying them off a distance and laying them down; then each man, taking his rope in hand, placed himself by his fellow; the colonel rapped his man softly and said, "come, it is time for men of business to be on their way," and then each one sprang upon his man, and, after a most severe struggle, they secured the whole number of the enemy.

This capture was made at the mouth of the creek, near where Colliers now is. One of the Indians was known as Peter. Harper had traded with him before the war. Having spent the winter in New York or Canada, Brant did not reach Oghwaga this year until a few weeks after Harper returned. He then found about 700 Indians assembled at the place, and the number was expected soon to increase, as in fact it did, after Brant had invaded the Mohawk Valley, and brought down fifty head of cattle. It is believed that Brant and Colonel Johnson had

had a disagreement early in the year, and that Brant's coming was the result of it. Stone represents that Brant was now advanced to "his place as the principal war chief of the Iroquois Confederacy," but later investigations have shown that his authority did not then, or afterward, extend much beyond the Mohawks, although on certain occasions he had other Indians under his leadership and he was often described as "the great captain of the Six Nations."

Brant soon found himself in full command at Oghwaga, and late in May advanced up the valley, accompanied by seventy or eighty warriors, and perhaps by one hundred. At Unadilla, still remained several families. On hearing of Brant's approach, one of the Sliters mounted a horse and rode in haste to Cherry Valley to ask for aid. A sergeant and forty men returned with him and encamped on ground adjoining Mr. Sliter's home on the Unadilla side of the river. On Brant's arrival, on June 2d, Sliter and his five sons, Cornelius, Nicholas, Conrad, Peter, and James, were ploughing. Brant demanded provisions. If he could not get them peaceably he "must take them by force." One of the Sliters crossed the river, and invited him to the Sliter house for a conference. Brant declined, and then extended the same hospitality to the white men, assuring them they would not be harmed.

Under this assurance, the settlers finally crossed. They at once found themselves surrounded by Indians. Mr. Johnston spoke a few words favoring peace, and urging the red men to take a neutral attitude in the war; but Brant replied: "I am a man for war. I have taken my oath with the King, and will not make a treaty with you." A family tradition is that Mr. Johnston in the course of this interview as-

sured Brant, with his fist closed, that he was not afraid of him. Further efforts for conciliation only showed that Brant was not to be moved. Food he must and would have, and the settlers had to yield. Some eight or ten head of horned cattle, including one of the steers Sliter had been ploughing with, some sheep, hogs, and a large quantity of provisions were turned over to the hungry Indians. When some of them secretly took away wearing apparel hanging on clothes-lines, Brant was appealed to for protection. "Ha! these Indians," said he, "I cannot control them."

Brant closed this interview by requiring the settlers to leave the country or declare themselves for the English cause. One statement is that he gave them forty-eight hours in which to go away; another that he gave them eight days. "So long," said he, "they shall be safe. If any others want to join us I will protect them, and they may stay." Carr, Dingman, and Woodcock are said to have concluded to remain, but the names Dingman and Woodcock are found among those who fought on the side of the patriots. The Johnstons, McMasters, and Sliters at once declined to accept Brant's conditions, and having buried their tools and other articles removed to Cherry Valley. In July Mr. Johnston went to Kingston with Colonel Harper and made affidavit to these occurrences. Three other families at the settlement are said to have declared for the patriots, but their names have been lost. Of Carr it is known that he afterward supplied Brant with provisions, among which probably were products of his grist-mill.

Brant's stay continued for several days after the Johnstons and Sliters had gone. He burned some

of the abandoned dwellings, and along the Unadilla River extended his hostile sway. Gould estimates the population of the settlement before hostilities began, at twenty, or one-sixth the entire population at that time of the lands out of which was to be created Delaware County; but this estimate could not have included the families on the Unadilla side of the stream. With the usual allowance of five or six souls to a family, the total for both sides of the stream would be at least twice that number.

Brant, being now master of the situation, sent word to all settlers that if they did not declare for the King, he would seize them and their property. A friendly Indian hastened to warn the Ogdens in Otego, as well as men at the mouth of the Ouleout, and they fled in haste, some to Middlefield, and others to Cherry Valley. The father of the Ogdens on this journey paddled a canoe up the river while his wife and son David drove the oxen and a cow on shore.

IV

General Herkimer's Conference with Brant

1777

IN driving out these settlers, Brant had taken the first hostile step in the Susquehanna Valley in the border warfare of the Revolution. Elsewhere in the country, war had now become a familiar calamity. Since the Cherry Valley meeting, held just after the Concord fight, events of large import had occurred. Washington had arrived in Cambridge as Commander-in-chief, and had forced the British to evacuate Boston. The Declaration of Independence had been signed. On Long Island the American army under Putnam had fought in a losing battle. Harlem Heights and White Plains had witnessed engagements. Washington had crossed the Hudson and the Jersey meadows, and had forced the Hessians to surrender at Trenton. The battle of Princeton had been fought, and Frederic the Great, old, battle-scarred, and renowned, declared one of these movements to be the most brilliant he had ever observed, and sent Washington a sword.

After the flight of the Susquehanna settlers, several Tories proceeded to Unadilla and rendered aid to Brant. A road was marked through the wilderness straight to Esopus on the Hudson, now Kingston—an early foreshadowing of the Esopus turnpike ending at the river-bridge in Bainbridge—by

which other Tories from Ulster and Orange counties were expected to come in and reinforce the Indians. Brant was reported to have declared that he would soon be in a position not to fear the approach of 3,000 men.

The inhabitants of Harpersfield, believing they stood in danger of an early invasion, addressed a letter to the Council of Safety, declaring that "the late irruptions and hostilities committed at Unadilla by Joseph Brant with a party of Indians and Tories have so alarmed the well-affected inhabitants of this and the neighboring settlements, who are now the entire frontier of this State, that, except your honors doth afford us immediate protection, we shall be obliged to leave our settlements to save our lives and families." There was "not a man on the outside of us but such as have taken protection of Brant."

General Nicholas Herkimer, then the military chief of Tryon County, was as well acquainted with Brant as Colonel Harper was. His rank was that of brigadier, and he had been in command of the militia of the county since September of the previous year. It was decided that he should go to Unadilla to confer with the Indians, the decision being the result of a conference held by General Schuyler, Colonel Van Schaick, and other officers. Colonel Van Schaick, with 150 men, went with him as far as Cherry Valley, but was unable to proceed farther for want of provisions. General Schuyler stood ready to follow should a greater force be needed.*

* In Herkimer's party were the Rev. William Johnston, Colonel Johnston, his son, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cox, with others whose names are already familiar in this history, or are afterward to become so. In the first battalion of militia was Samuel Clyde, a captain, and Henry

Herkimer had with him altogether 380 men. From Canajoharie the little army proceeded southward along Bowman's Creek, and thence from Cherry Valley to Otsego Lake and the Susquehanna, reaching Unadilla late in June. At a point about four miles below the present village of Unadilla a halt was made near the railroad bridge that crosses the Susquehanna, and a messenger was sent forward to Oghwaga to inquire if Brant would come up for a friendly conference. Brant sent back an Indian who asked sarcastically if all the soldiers with General Herkimer desired to speak with Brant. Herkimer, having declared his peaceable intentions, it was arranged that Brant should advance. Eight days later the Mohawk chief reached the meeting-place, with a party of warriors, one statement placing their numbers at 137 and another at 500.*

At a place distant two miles west from the meeting-place on the Sidney side, Brant formed his own camp, and went forward to arrange for the interview, which took place at a point midway between the two encampments, each leader having with him a body-guard of fifty men. Herkimer asked to be allowed to proceed farther down the river, but he was told

Scramling, a second lieutenant. In the third, David McMaster was a first lieutenant and afterward captain, while James McMaster was a second lieutenant, Jeremiah Swartz, a first lieutenant, Abraham Hodges, a captain, and Amos Bennett, an ensign. In the fourth, Hanyost Herkimer was a colonel, George F. Hellner, a second lieutenant, and George Herkimer, a captain. Of the fifth regiment, John Harper was the colonel with Daniel Ogden, a second lieutenant, and Thomas Cully, an ensign. In the regiment of Frederick Fischer, Captain David McMaster's company, served as privates William Hanna and Jeremiah Burch; in Captain Yates's company, Jonathan Spencer and Orange Spencer; in Colonel Van "Veghten's" (Vechten's) regiment, Abimeleck Arnold, and in Colonel Willett's, John, Peter, and Abraham Woodcock.

* Stone says 500, and Brant told Herkimer he had that number. Probably 137 was the number who came up to the Fort Stanwix line, the others remaining at Oghwaga.

he could not go west of the boundary-line. With Brant, besides his body-guard, were his nephew, William Johnson, Mollie Brant's son; an Indian chief; man named Pool; a Tory, named Captain Bull, and another person, described as a smart young fellow with curly hair, half Indian and half negro.

A temporary shed, capable of seating 200 persons, was erected for the interview, all the arms having been left by both parties in their respective encampments. Herkimer's camp was on the Houck flat above the site of Sidney village, near the railroad bridge. The meeting-place was on the Bradley farm, one-fourth of a mile above the railroad station. In this locality still exists one of several knolls associated with Indian history. Relics have been found there, and apple-trees of great size once grew upon its summit. The camp of Brant was below the village, on the elevated plateau now the farm of Milton C. Johnston, a descendant of the dominie.

A detailed account of the interview exists in an affidavit made by Colonel Harper, in July, 1777. He says Herkimer "delivered a speech tending to peace with the Indians nations," to which Brant replied that he was "thankful the General was so peaceably disposed, but as the Indians were hungry, they could not speak until they had eaten." Brant and his chiefs then retired to the encampment, to refresh themselves. They returned with "upward of 130 warriors—to wit, about 136 or 137." Brant repeated his expression of pleasure over Herkimer's peaceable intentions, but added that "by their numbers, they appeared to be disposed for war," and if that was the case he "was ready for them." Stone, on the authority of a statement of facts collected by L. Ford, says Brant remarked to Herkimer, "all

these men have come on a friendly visit too. They all want to see the poor Indian. It is very kind."

Brant stated the grounds of Indian complaint, and his sincerity cannot be questioned. First, he said the Mohawks remaining in the Mohawk Valley were confined to one place, and not allowed to pass with freedom along the river. He made no specific reference to the Fort Stanwix treaty, but a clause in the deed, as already said, had provided that "lands occupied by the Mohawks around their villages, as well as by any other nation affected by this cession, may effectually remain to them and their posterity." The next item of complaint was that "their minister, Mr. Stuart, had not liberty to pass and repass as formerly, so that they could not carry on their worship." *

Brant's next complaint was that forts had been erected on Indian territory. General Herkimer asked if the Indians would be content, if these complaints were satisfied, to which Brant replied that the Indians were in covenant with the King, as their fathers had been. They "were steady and not changeable as the wind." After the war, Brant wrote to Sir Evan Nepeau, the British Under-Secretary of State:

When I joined the English in the beginning of the war it was purely on account of my forefathers' engagements with the King. I always looked upon those engagements as covenants between the King and the Indian nations, and

* The Rev. John Stuart or Stewart, was a son of an Irish Presbyterian and a native of Harrisburgh. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, had studied for orders in the Church of England and in 1770 had been ordained. He labored for many years among the Mohawks and made translations into their language of the Gospels and the Catechism. Suspected of inciting the Indians against the patriots, his house and church had been plundered and he was finally expelled from the settlements. After the war he went to Canada, where he laid the foundations of the Episcopal Church in the upper province.

as sacred things: therefore I was not to be frightened by the threats of the rebels at that time."

When the negotiations had reached this point, Colonel Cox, one of Herkimer's officers, in an impetuous way, remarked that the affair must then be regarded as settled. Cox and Brant had long been unfriendly and a strained state of feeling still existed. Brant became irritated at Cox's remark and sarcastically asked if he were not "the son-in-law of old George Kloch." Cox replied testily: "Yes, and what is that to you, you d—d Indian." Thereupon Brant gave the signal for his men to return to camp, from which they discharged a volley of musketry.

Brant himself still remained with Herkimer, and Herkimer wishing to avoid an engagement, again assured him he was for peace. Brant sent a messenger to his men, ordering them to make no further demonstration without word from him, and one of his orators then delivered an oration declaring that the Indians "were ready to come to action," this statement being made "in a most threatening posture." "I have five hundred warriors," said Brant, "at my command and can in an instant destroy you and your party; but we are old neighbors, and I will not." And with fine bravado he said it, considering that two-thirds of them were probably twenty-five miles down the river—at Oghwaga. Herkimer again assured him he had come on a peaceable mission, and wished to secure such Tories and deserters as remained in the valley. Brant insisted that they must not be disturbed, as they were subjects of the King.*

* Another account of this interview exists in the affidavit of John Dusler, who was a private in the militia. It was made in 1833, and is as follows:

"Gen. Herkimer and Col. Cox, after they had fixed upon a time, met

On June 28, Herkimer returned to Cherry Valley, and on the following day, Brant, with some spearmen, put the town of Unadilla in the hands of Tories. In their possession and his it long remained.

That General Herkimer's peaceful mission would fail men who understood the grievances of the Indians might have anticipated. It does not appear that, aside from a few cattle, he gave the Indians any presents, whereas the English from early times had supplied them with clothing, implements, and food. Stone says Brant "taunted Gen. Herkimer with the poverty of the Continental government, which he said was not able to give the Indians a blanket." Harper's version of this is, that Brant remarked how General Schuyler at the German Flatts conference had made bold threats to the Indians and "at the same time was not able to afford them the linen to put a shirt on their backs."

The statement has been made that Herkimer ar-

Brant and they had a talk. Neither party was allowed to bring guns to the place where they were talking. There was a place covered for them to talk under, and a place for a table. There were men stationed out to keep guard, and the Indians had seats made of boards under the trees, that they sat on, but without arms."

"General Herkimer and Captain Brant talked awhile. Then Colonel Cox spoke and said 'damn him,' and 'let him go.' Brant mentioned this in Indian to his men, who were close by. They all at once sprang up and shouted, putting their hands on their mouths as they hallooed, and then ran off, and directly they heard them firing off their pieces, General Herkimer took Brant by the arm and told him not to mind what Cox said: that they were old neighbors, and ought not to be spilling each others' blood, etc. He talked very nice to him. Brant was moderate too.

"The day before this public meeting, Gen. Herkimer and Brant had talked a good deal together about the business. Understood there was a treaty made, and that Brant would come back and live on the river again. They returned the same way as far as Otego: then Col. Billinger's regiment went home by a place called the Butternuts. They were gone in all the time about 17 or 18 days."—Brant MSS. in the Draper Collection.

ranged to have Brant shot during this meeting, which, if true, would have put a lasting stain upon his name; but Joseph Wagner, one of the men whom he is said to have selected for the purpose, told Lossing that the arrangement was one of precaution only. On the evening of the first day of the conference, after the outbreak due to Colonel Cox's remark, Herkimer decided that, in case Brant showed an unmistakable purpose to fight the next day, Wagner, and Abraham and George Herkimer should seize or kill him. Herkimer's reasons for avoiding battle are not definitely known. Probably his instructions restrained him, for he was a brave man, as he was soon to show on a famous field. The conference closed in an ominous manner, as described by Campbell:

> The sun shone forth without a cloud to obscure it, and as the rays gilded the tops of the forest trees, or were reflected from the waters of the Susquehanna, they imparted a rich tint to the wild scenery with which they were surrounded. The echo of the war whoop had scarcely died away, before the heavens became black and a violent storm of hail and rain obliged each party to withdraw and seek the nearest shelter.

After the interview, Brant remained in the neighborhood of Unadilla, fortifying the place and committing depredations on settlers who were still there. The ten or a dozen cattle which Herkimer gave them, Wagner says the Indians "slaughtered incontinently." But they were soon in want of food, and Brant sought assistance from Percifer Carr of Edmeston, to whom he wrote the following letter on July 6:

> I understand that you are a friend to government, with sum of the settlers at the Butternuts, which is the reason

of my applying to you and those people for sum provisions and shall be glad you would send me what you can spare, no matter what sort, for which you shall be paid, you keeping an account of the whole. From your Friend and Humble Serv'nt,

JOSEPH BRANT.

In this Unadilla conference Brant acted only for the Mohawks. The Iroquois had failed to adopt a resolution favoring united action friendly to the English. The Oneida chiefs firmly resisted a war measure and the organic law of the League required unanimous consent. It was agreed, however, that each nation should act in its own way. The Senecas remained inactive until drawn into the conflict by the battle of Oriskany, two months after the Unadilla conference. Nor do the Cayugas and Onondagas appear to have taken any steps favorable to the English until after Oriskany, when the whole New York frontier was hopelessly plunged into that long series of border conflicts by which it was at last made desolate.

V

The Battle of Oriskany

1777

THE Revolution had now reached a critical period. In the previous summer, the British, evacuating Boston, had arrived in the harbor of New York, with a large fleet of warships and 30,000 men, prepared to enter upon a campaign for the capture of the Hudson Valley. Early in 1777, a vast enterprise was formed. The main army of the British under Burgoyne was to descend from Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. Another force was to ascend the Hudson valley from New York, and a third, composed of Indians, Tories, and regulars, was to come on from Montreal under Barry St. Leger, by way of Oswego, to the Mohawk Valley, thence making its way east and joining Burgoyne. It was confidently believed that the capture of the Hudson Valley, which formed the key to the main conflict in America, could thus be effected. It is St. Leger's part in that memorable campaign which directly concerns this history.

Early in the summer, 400 regular British troops, including Hessians, had assembled at Oswego, under Sir John Johnson and Colonel Daniel Claus, the husband of Sir John's sister. Meanwhile, 600 Tories and Canadians, who had come together on Carleton Island, near the head of the St. Lawrence, proceeded to Oswego. Brant, after writing his letter to Percifer Carr, had started for Oswego, ac-

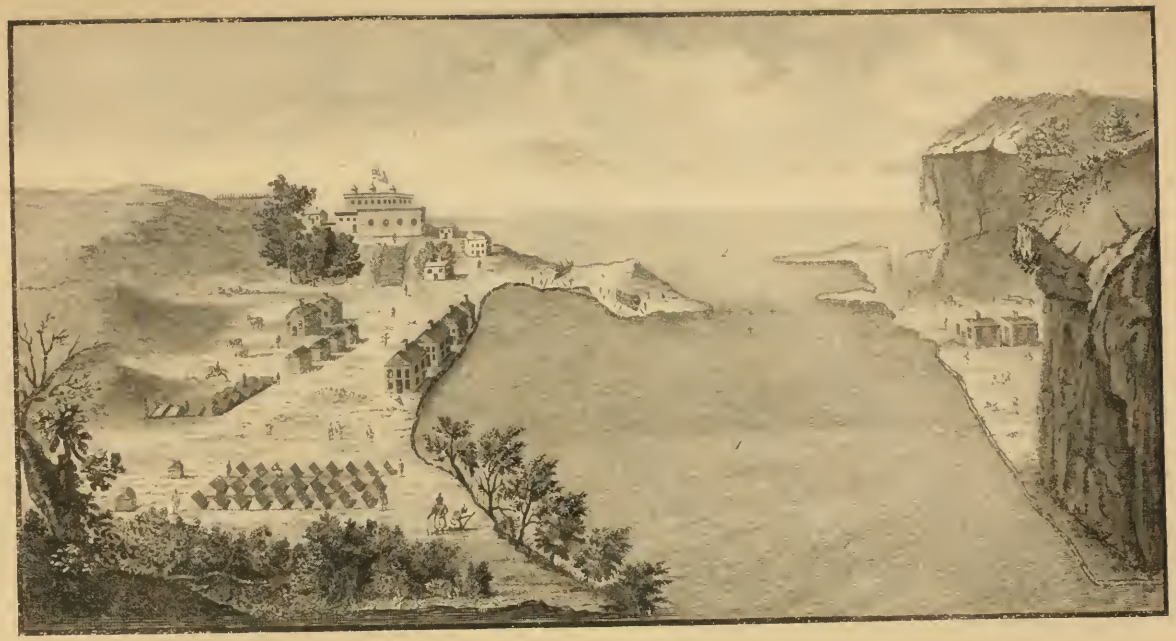
companied by about 300 Indians, his route being along the Unadilla River.

At Oswego had gathered a few hundred other Indians, who, at a council some weeks before, had been informed that the King of England was a man of great power, that they should never want for food and clothing, if they adhered to him, and that rum should be "as plentiful as water in Lake Ontario." Each warrior received a suit of clothes, a brass kettle,* a gun, a tomahawk, powder and money, and a bounty was offered on every white man's scalp they might take. Writing of the Senecas, Mary Jemison says, thus richly clad and equipped, they became "full of the fire of war, and anxious to encounter their enemies."

Oswego was already an ancient rendezvous. Here Frontenac had landed in 1792, when he spread destruction among the Onondagas and extinguished the central Council Fire of the Six Nations. From times still earlier it had had importance. Here, in 1616, Champlain had disembarked to make his campaign against the Indians in Central New York, and here, in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit priests had arrived from the north, to begin their work of planting Christianity among the heathen. Indeed it is here that the Iroquois themselves are believed to have first settled, when they came to central New York.

In 1721, Governor Burnet planted a small trading settlement at Oswego, as an outpost against the French. He met with opposition, but in 1726 was able to build a fort. Twenty years afterward Sir William Johnson employed Oswego as one of his

* Some of these kettles were still in use among the Indians fifty years afterward.



FORT OSWEGO

(The principal rendezvous of Indians, Tories, and British regulars.)

trading posts, Oghwaga being perhaps his next most important centre. In 1755, General Shirley enlarged and strengthened the fort, but a year later it was captured by Montcalm, dismantled and laid in ruins. Here, in 1759, the fortress having been restored, were gathered the English forces which went westward, and gained possession of Fort Niagara.

During the Revolution Fort Oswego underwent considerable repairs. It never became a winter headquarters, however, being found more serviceable as a rendezvous. Niagara was the place in which the Indians and many Tories spent the winter, and Niagara was the usual destination of the prisoners whom they captured on the frontier. At Oswego, until the last scene of the war, Indians, Tories, and regular troops were now to assemble for descents upon a defenceless frontier, easily reached by following the small lakes and rivers which there discharge their waters into Lake Ontario.

About 700 Indians were added to the British force in 1777, St. Leger taking command of the whole body, except the Indians whom Brant commanded, the army now numbering 1,700 men, and St. Leger effecting its final organization at Oswego. The Indians were assured that if they would proceed with St. Leger to Fort Schuyler,* they might sit down and smoke their pipes while they saw the British "whip the Rebels." Mary Jemison says the

*Formerly Fort Stanwix, which had been built in 1758, during the French War, and was named after General Stanwix, a British officer. General Schuyler in 1776, at the suggestion of Washington, had repaired and strengthened it, and it had been renamed Fort Schuyler. Powder horns which soldiers carved during that summer in the fort bear this new name. Among the English, however, the fort was still called after its old name. Much confusion has resulted, and this has been emphasized by the fact that after the war, the old name of Fort Stanwix was restored.

Senecas followed St. Leger to a man, but, instead of smoking pipes and looking on, they "were obliged to fight for their lives, and in the battle were completely beaten." This conflict was Oriskany,* fought on August 6th.

Burgoyne's victorious march down the Champlain Valley and his easy capture of Fort Ticonderoga, were already known to St. Leger when, with his motley band, he set out for Fort Schuyler, by way of Oneida Lake. He confidently believed that the fort would capitulate. But it now had a strong garrison of 750 men, under Colonel Peter Gansevoort, with Colonel Marinus Willett second in command. It had provisions enough for six weeks, with a short supply of ammunition for cannon, though enough for the small arms. But it had no flag.

In June of this year, Congress had formally adopted the Stars and Stripes. Betsy Ross, that summer in Philadelphia, had made the first specimen of the new American banner, but none had yet reached this fort on the western frontier. A rude specimen was therefore constructed in the fort, one tradition being, that the red material came from a flannel shirt, the white from a cotton shirt, and the blue from the petticoat of a soldier's wife. Above the ramparts this flag was hoisted, and it seems to be the first instance in history in which the Stars and Stripes were ever raised in the face of an enemy.

St. Leger invested Fort Schuyler on August 3d. A flag of truce was at once sent in, with a manifesto offering protection to all who might submit. The offer having met with a prompt refusal, the siege was begun on the following day, Indians completely surrounding the fort while concealed in the adjacent

* The meaning of this word, according to Morgan, is nettles.

woods. A messenger was despatched to Burgoyne, announcing St. Leger's arrival; St. Leger being in complete ignorance of the formidable obstacles that were obstructing that general's progress. Burgoyne had found himself with a supply of stores wholly inadequate, and not more than one-third of his horses had been able to follow him from Canada. His advance had been completely blocked. Seeking relief, he sent out the expedition to Bennington so disastrously overwhelmed on August 16th by General John Stark.

The people of Tryon County early in the summer had learned of the coming of St. Leger, through Thomas Spencer, the Cherry Valley orator, who brought the news from Canada, after having gone there to observe the movements of the enemy. On hearing that St. Leger had reached Oswego, General Nicholas Herkimer issued a proclamation calling upon the frontiersmen to organize in defence of their homes. Men between sixteen and sixty years of age were urged to enter the service, while those above sixty were directed to defend the women and children. Herkimer gathered a force of between 800 and 1,000 men, a part of whom had gone with him to Unadilla to meet Brant.

German Flatts was now made the place of rendezvous for the militia, and so soon as the fort was invested, General Herkimer set out for its relief. He went into camp on August 5th, about eight miles east of it. Here, some of the officers grew impatient at his delay. They urged an immediate advance, and accused Herkimer of disloyalty and cowardice. He remonstrated with them, and pointed out the need for reinforcements, but at last was obliged to yield. He gave the order to advance, only to find his army

at the mercy of an ambuscade, with Brant leading the Indians and Colonel Butler his own Rangers. This surprise occurred at a ravine, semi-circular in form, and marshy at the bottom, which crossed the road Herkimer had to follow. Stone has best described the scene of wild slaughter that followed:

Being thrown into irretrievable disorder by the suddenness of the surprise and the destructiveness of the fire, which was close and brisk from every side, the division was for a time threatened with annihilation. At every opportunity the savages, concealed behind the trunks of trees, darted forward with knife and tomahawk to insure the destruction of those who fell; and many and fierce were the conflicts that ensued hand to hand. The veteran Herkimer fell, wounded, in the early part of the action—a musket-ball having passed through and killed his horse, and shattered his own leg just below the knee. The General was placed upon his saddle, however, against the trunk of a tree for his support, and thus continued to order the battle. Colonel Cox, and Captains Davis and Van Sluyck, were severally killed near the commencement of the engagement; and the slaughter of their broken ranks, from the rifles of the Tories and the spears and tomahawks of the Indians was dreadful. But even in this deplorable situation the wounded General, his men dropping like leaves around him, and the forest resounding with the horrid yells of the savages, ringing high and wild over the din of battle, behaved with the most perfect composure.

The action had lasted about forty-five minutes in great disorder, before the Provincials formed themselves into circles in order to repel the attacks of the enemy, who were concentrating and closing in upon them from all sides. From this moment the resistance of the Provincials was more effective, and the enemy attempted to charge with the bayonet. The firing ceased for a time, except the scattering discharges of musketry from the Indians; and as the bayonets crossed the contest became a death-struggle,

hand to hand and foot to foot. Never, however, did brave men stand a charge with more dauntless courage, and the enemy, for the moment, seemed to recoil—just at the instant when the work of death was arrested by a heavy shower of rain which suddenly broke upon the combatants with great fury.

During this suspension of the battle, both parties had time to look about, and make such new dispositions as they pleased for attack and defence on renewing the murderous conflict. In the early part of the battle, the Indians, whenever they saw a gun fired by a militia-man from behind a tree, rushed upon and tomahawked him before he could reload. In order to counteract this mode of warfare, two men were stationed behind a single tree, one only to fire at a time—the other reserving his fire until the Indians ran up as before. The fight was presently renewed and by the new arrangement, and the cool execution done by the fire of the militia forming the main circle, the Indians were made to suffer severely; so much so that they began to give way, when Major Watts came up with a reinforcement, consisting of another detachment of Johnson's Greens. These men were mostly loyalists who had fled from Tryon County, now returned in arms against their former neighbors.

As no quarrels are so bitter as those of families, so no wars are so cruel and passionate as those called civil. Many of the Provincials and Greens were known to each other; and as they advanced so near as to afford opportunities of mutual recognition, the contest became, if possible, more of a death-struggle than before. Mutual resentment and feeling of hate raged in their bosoms. The Provincials fired upon them as they advanced, and then, springing like chafed tigers from their covers, attacked them with their bayonets and the butts of their muskets, or both parties, in closer contact, throttled each other and drew their knives, stabbing, and sometimes literally dying in one another's embrace.

. . . . . .

The parties once more rushed upon each other with bayonet and spear, grappling and fighting with terrible fury; while the shattering of shafts and the clashing of steel, mingled with every dread sound of war and death, and the savage yells, more hideous than all, presented a scene which can be more easily imagined than described.

Such a conflict as this could not be continued long; and the Indians, perceiving with what ardor the Provincials maintained the fight, and finding their own numbers sadly diminished, now raised the retreating cry of "Oonah!" and fled in every direction, under the shouts and hurrahs of the surviving Provincials and a shower of bullets. Finding, moreover, from the firing at the fort that their presence was necessary elsewhere, the Greens and Rangers now retreated precipitately, leaving the victorious militia of Tryon County masters of the field.

Oriskany, essentially an accident of war, was a place of frightful slaughter, considering the number engaged, 200 Americans being killed, and as many more made prisoners. General Herkimer died afterward from his wounds, and among the others killed, was Thomas Spencer. Colonel Samuel Campbell, of Cherry Valley, succeeded Herkimer in command. It was when their ammunition gave out that the combatants engaged at close quarters in that wild struggle on marshy ground, with muskets, bayonets, knives, and tomahawks. The Indians lost about 100 men, of whom thirty-six were Senecas. As many more Tories, and British regulars were slain. Mary Jemison describes the Senecas as returning home in excessive mourning, expressed by "the most doleful yells, shrieks, and howlings and by inimitable gesticulations."

It is interesting to recall here, that had General Herkimer chosen to fight at Unadilla, he could have won with seeming ease. Thus the slaughter at

Oriskany might have been averted. In October, Brant declared in a letter that at Unadilla he had only 200 available warriors and not twenty pounds of powder, which was probably true; his assertion to Herkimer that he had 500 men, having been made for effect.

Meanwhile, during the battle, Colonel Willett had led a sortie from the fort with 250 men, giving such a surprise to Sir John Johnson, that his men were put to flight, and the Indians retreated to the woods. While Willett held possession of the camp of the enemy, seven wagons were obtained from the fort and three trips were necessary to carry back into it the rich spoils Willett captured, which included all the papers of the officers and five British standards. Not a man was lost in this enterprise. The British flags were soon hoisted over the fort, upsidedown, below that rude specimen of the Stars and Stripes.

St. Leger soon renewed the siege. On August 10th, Colonel Willett, in the hope of raising another force to relieve the garrison, emerged from the fort at night, with one other officer. The two men tramped through the woods some forty miles eastward—a dangerous undertaking, with Indians lurking about, but successfully executed, under great hardships. They were armed only with a spear, and had no provisions except crackers and cheese, and a canteen of spirits. When their supplies were exhausted, they lived on berries. Having reached German Flatts, Colonel Willett on horseback rode to Albany, returning with Arnold to German Flatts, where the troops assembled to march for relief of the fort.

Arnold's coming alarmed St. Leger. That ac-

complished general had contrived to get false news to the enemy, indicating that the force approaching was much larger than it really was. This resulted, on August 22d, in a hasty retreat of the motley band which had been storming the walls of this wilderness fortress. They fled with so much haste that much of their baggage and ammunition was left behind, all of which gave great astonishment to Colonel Gansevoort and his men in the fort, who knew nothing of the cause for the strange retreat they witnessed from its ramparts.

Such was Oriskany; a battle which Horatio Seymour and others have ranked as the decisive conflict of the Revolution. As Bennington made supplies impossible for Burgoyne, so did Oriskany dash to the ground his hopes of reinforcements. Meanwhile the Americans holding Burgoyne in check added constantly to their numbers until they surpassed his forces three to one, and after an ineffectual attempt to break through their lines, where Arnold once more distinguished himself, Burgoyne was forced to surrender.

But for this frontier the battle of Oriskany had a more personal and deeper significance. The British had now definitely secured the co-operation of the Indians in furthering their ambition to obtain control of the Hudson Valley. No student of the local history that followed can fail to observe how, in Oriskany, was begun that border fighting which, for the next five years, desolated the Susquehanna, Delaware, Schoharie, and Mohawk Valleys. Out of Oriskany, as effects from causes, came the burning of Springfield and German Flatts, the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, the expeditions of Colonel William Butler, General John Sullivan and

Sir John Johnson; the battles of Minisink, Johnstown and Klock's Field, by which not alone were the homes of frontiersmen made desolate, but in greater degree those of the Indians themselves.

Heretofore the Indians in large part had shown their intentions to be, if not those of perfect peace, certainly not those of aggressive and initiatory warfare. When the Senecas returned howling and shrieking to their homes the premonitions of war on the settlements had been heard. Tryon County, whose militiamen were recruited from the settlers, was to pay the penalty of the Indian losses. Back to Oghwaga and the Mohawk went the Iroquois, and for all the years that the war lasted it was now Indians and now white men who burned villages, destroyed cattle and food, captured prisoners and killed men and women. We have been taught to hold the red man's deeds in horror as unprovoked atrocities, but as this narrative goes forward it will be an act of justice to remember the remarks of Stone and Campbell that no son of the forest has ever written a history of the Border Wars. In all Stone's stately octavos is no more impressive passage than the one in which he cites Æsop's fable of the lion and the forester standing before a piece of sculpture representing a man triumphant over a lion. With a lion for sculptor the relative positions of man and beast would certainly have been reversed. And so with a Mohawk Indian for historian of the Border Wars. We should have had different chronicles.

In this warfare personal revenge prompted the red man, but not the British. The Rangers of Colonel Butler, the Royal Greens of Sir John Johnson, the regulars, Yägers, and Tories who co-

which moved the aged Frederic the Great to send him a sword.

In this frontier warfare, as in the campaign of Burgoyne, the British sought to weaken Washington from the rear. With the Indians for allies after Oriskany, their aim each summer thenceforth was to attract away from the Hudson Valley forces stationed for its defence. In that lay the purpose of the expeditions to Wyoming and Cherry Valley, the forces sent out to meet General Sullivan and the campaigns that, in the last year but one of the war lighted conflagrations throughout the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, and struck terror to the hearts of their defenceless people.

PART V

Overthrow of the Frontier

1777–1778

I

Alarm Among the Settlements

1777–1778

SCARCELY had the noise of battle died away from Oriskany and Fort Schuyler, when fresh invasions from Indians and Tories occurred. Bands of them speedily returned to the Susquehanna Valley, invaded the Delaware settlements from Oghwaga and made depredations in Schoharie. Late in August a committee complained from Schoharie to the Council of Safety, that while they had long foreseen the storm, and made repeated requests for aid, they had "received nothing in return but false epistles, neglect and contempt." The troops promised, had been "sent another way," and they had been "mocked with inconsistent letters, requesting us to defend ourselves, at a time when almost all the neighboring settlements and the greater part of our own inhabitants were actually in arms against us."

They had not received one man for assistance, "except a small party of the light-horse, which Colonel Harper procured at the risk of his life, and six Frenchmen, raised at his own expense." When Colonel Harper went out to enlist men for service, he found they had been so intimidated by the Tories that he was unable to enlist any considerable body. At Harpersfield the people had fallen into the hands of a Tory named McDonald, "who

swore them not to take up arms against the king." They declared that "one-half of this valuable settlement of Schoharie lies in ruins and desolation, our houses plundered, our cattle destroyed, and our well-affected inhabitants taken prisoners and sworn not to discover the enemies' plots or proceedings." The committee added that Indians and Tories were lurking in the woods, waiting for another reinforcement, while the harvest, "the best in the memory of man," was "lying rotting in the fields," and they saw nothing but utter destruction before them.*

On September 10th, a militia force of 500 men was promised, but it seems not to have done any service. In October it was known that Oswego had become a rendezvous for Indians, under Brant, and for Tories and regulars under Colonel Butler, and Colonel Guy Carleton. Later reports said their numbers were rapidly increasing. Finally it was asserted that 6,000 men had been assembled there. New attacks were anticipated, and pathetic appeals were again made.

Not a patriot now remained in Unadilla. Indians were fortifying the place. Eastward along the Susquehanna, the whole country was deserted, except that Harpersfield had become a recognized settlement of Tories. To Unadilla meanwhile went deserters from the American army, and runaway negroes. By the middle of November, Unadilla had become a haunt of some of the worst elements brought into activity by the Border Wars.

The size of the force of white men and Indians at Oswego indicated the energy with which was to be renewed the campaign St. Leger had lost. As St. Leger had been expected to weaken the Ameri-

* Clinton Papers, vol. ii.

can forces opposing Burgoyne, so now was Colonel Butler * to attract away from the Hudson the men needed for its defence. Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor in the British command, abandoned Philadelphia in the spring and started for New York. Washington followed him, turning defeat into victory at Monmouth, and then made his way northward to the Highlands of the Hudson. While Washington held Clinton in check, Tories and Indians were to harass the frontier. All through the summer of 1778, this work went on successfully, meeting with no effective opposition. Cobleskill, Springfield, and Wyoming, tell the story of the summer's work. It ended in November with the crowning tragedy of the New York frontier—the massacre of Cherry Valley.

But we must first recall certain earlier events. When the winter of 1777–78 came on, the main body of Indians and Tories had retired from Oswego to Niagara, but a considerable number of Indians remained to spend that season in Unadilla and Oghwaga. William Johnston, Jr., went down from Cherry Valley in January as a spy, and learned that the Indian chiefs had received from Niagara letters of instruction, and that another messenger had gone with letters to the English in New York. Thus was established close connection with the central enterprise of the war—the capture of the Hudson

* Butler commanded a body of irregular troops known as Butler's Rangers, recruited from Tories and others who sought refuge at Oswego. Butler's Rangers played a conspicuous part in all the Border Wars. In 1778 barracks were erected for them opposite Fort Niagara, where has since grown up the small village known as Niagara-on-the-Lake. On the outskirts of this village, still stands the guard-house of Butler's Rangers. A mile distant, is the farm Butler lived on, after the war, and in the soil of which he lies buried. On the walls of the village church (St. Mark's) a laudatory tablet has been raised to Butler's memory.

Valley. Colonel Butler, during the winter, entered into a new treaty with the Indians, making presents, "and in particular 300 of Burgoyne's silver medals to their young warriors."

Early in this period, after the Rev. William Johnston had in vain asked for troops to be sent to Cherry Valley, a petition, signed by about sixty citizens of that place, was sent to Governor Clinton as follows:

> We have repeated information, and doubt not but it's good authority, of the preparations Tories and Indians are making at Yunadilla and Augquaga, where they have recourse to the whole Old England District for their supporters. Brant and his warriors are preparing to pay us a visit, which we fear will be shortly, as it is but about forty miles march for them. Some families are leaving their farms and moving down into the country, and we have great reason to fear it will be the case with us or fall a prey to their savage barbarities.

A committee from Tryon County, about the same time, reported to the Council of Safety:

> We have lately had a scouting party to Unadilla, who gave us information that a number of disaffected people have collected at that place and from appearances they are making preparations for some expeditions. Some say it is meditated against the frontier of Ulster County, while others say it is intended against this county. Unadilla is a receptacle for all desertions from the army, runaway negroes, and other bad people. We therefore judge it extremely necessary to have that nest entirely eradicated, and until that is done, we can never enjoy our possessions in peace, for these villains carry off all the cattle they can find besides robbing the well affected inhabitants.

These warnings and others coming from diverse sources, and amply endorsed by General Philip

Schuyler, continued well into the summer of 1778. Two friendly Indians had arrived in Cherry Valley in March, urging the inhabitants to abandon the place as "the enemy will be very soon in these parts." In the same month Josiah Parke made affidavit that in February a Tuscarora Indian had told him the Tories and Indians meant "to strike first on the Susquehanna near Wyoming and take that place with 4,000 men, and then come through to the North River." Thus early had the enemy planned the most awful tragedy in all the frontier warfare—planned in February, a work that was not done until July; while on May 25th, General Schuyler was informed that Brant was to collect his friends upon the Susquehanna and attack Cherry Valley.*

Some hope of securing Indian neutrality still remained. At a council held on March 9th at Johnstown, and attended by more than 700 Indians, an attempt was made to quiet them. The Senecas alone failed to attend. With Oriskany so recent and bloody a memory, it was strange indeed that any Mohawks or Cayugas should have come. The Senecas sent a communication expressing their surprise (a surprise which is quite comprehensible) that "while our tomahawks were sticking in their heads, their wounds bleeding and their eyes streaming with tears for the loss of their friends at Oriskany, the Commissioners should think of inviting us to a treaty." Stone notes as the result of the council that the commissioners were persuaded that from the Senecas, Cayugas, and nearly all the Mohawks, "nothing but revenge for their lost friends and tarnished glory at Oriskany and Fort Schuyler was to be anticipated."

* Clinton Papers, vol. ii.

Lafayette had attended this council and at his instance, forts were now set up in Cherry Valley and on the Schoharie River. The Council of Safety undertook to raise a company under Colonel Harper, who was to have $1,000 advanced for his expenses. He was to be "cautious of making any attacks on the savages or pursuing any measures that would bring on an Indian war unless absolutely necessary for the defence of the inhabitants."

II

Cobleskill, Springfield and Wyoming

1778

EARLY in the year Brant had reached Oghwaga and Unadilla. His main purpose was not to kill frontiersmen, but to obtain food—food for his own men and for those of Butler, who expected soon to follow him into the Susquehanna Valley, his destination being Wyoming. Brant also aimed to collect men who as Tories would serve under Butler, and was "not to fight or make any alarm if possible to avoid it." From Oghwaga he went first into the Delaware Valley * where he got about seventy head of cattle and some horses, while sixty or seventy inhabitants joined his forces and returned with him to Oghwaga. For Brant's assistance Butler had sent forward to Unadilla a man named John Young, and to Oghwaga one named McGinnis, a former Susquehanna settler who had turned Tory.

On May 30th, Brant reached the settlement of Cobleskill † with 300 or 400 men. After burning nine houses, he was attacked by some Continental troops, a detachment from Colonel Ichabod Alden's

* Affidavit Barnabas Kelly, Clinton Papers, vol. iii.

† The stream from which this town derives its name was known to the Indians as Ascalege.

regiment, which was going out to command the Cherry Valley fort, and by militiamen from Schoharie. Brant forced the attacking party to retreat, after he had killed sixteen of them, and five or six others had perished in the houses which he burned. One of the killed was Captain Patrick and another Lieutenant Maynard. Abraham Wempel, a few days later, buried the dead and reported that "horses, cows, sheep, etc., lay dead all over the fields." The settlers escaped to Schoharie, but the Indians took away the cattle and all the provisions. On June 5th Patrick's clothing, says McKendry, was "sold at vendue in Albany: amount £64, 15*s*." The Cobleskill settlement lay on the creek of that name, ten miles west of Schoharie, and comprised nineteen families, from whom a small company of militia had been organized and provided with arms and ammunition.

Brant went on to Cherry Valley. From one of the hills back of the Campbell house he looked down on the place to observe its condition. He saw that the house was surrounded by an embankment of logs and earth and that on the green were soldiers. These soldiers, however, were small boys parading with paper caps and wooden swords. Brant took them for grown men and is understood to have abandoned his intended attack in consequence of his discovery. Before leaving the neighborhood he caused the death of one man, an old friend of his, Lieutenant Matthew Wormwood,* who had come over with a message from the Mohawk Valley. Seeing him ride past, Brant commanded him to halt, but Wormwood rode on, and one of Brant's men shot him, ignorant of his identity.

* Also written Warmouth.

During this visit Brant approached a boy named William McKown, aged about fourteen, who was working alone in a hay-field. The boy raised his rake in defence, but Brant quietly remarked: "Do not be afraid, young man; I shall not hurt you," and then made several inquiries, in the course of which he learned the boy's name. "You are a son of Mr. McKown who lives in the north-east part of the town, I suppose," said he. "I know your father very well, and a fine fellow he is too." This friendly manner emboldened the boy to inquire the Indian's name. After a little hesitation came the reply: "My name is Brant." "What! Captain Brant?" asked the startled boy. With a smile lighting up his dark face, Brant answered, calmly: "No; I am a cousin of his." This story has come down through Campbell from the lips of both McKown and Grant.

Rapidly spread the sense of terror which these events caused. Colonel Jacob Klock reported to Governor Clinton that "Unadilla has always been, and still continues to be, a common receptacle for all rascally Tories and runaway negroes." Relief was prayed for, as "otherwise we shall be in one continued alarm all the season." Colonel Samuel Clyde, of Cherry Valley, on June 5th, wrote to General Stark, the hero of Bennington, now commanding at Albany, sending the letter by Colonel Harper:

> The inhabitants of Bowmans Creek have left their inhabitations; Springfield likewise; and the people of Newtown Martin [now called Middlefield] have come into our settlement, and joined with us to make a stand against the enemy. They have brought their cattle with them, and families, so that in all we may reckon, on a moderate computation, there is 600 or 700 head of cattle, and they all

feeding within the circumference of about ¾ of a mile, which must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy, if some immediate help is not sent us; and our wives and children massacred by a savage enemy. We have made the utmost efforts to stand the enemy and protect our lives and liberty; but cannot stand it much longer, without very timely assistance; and if we should be obliged to give up this settlement, consider what a quantity of provision is here for the enemy; which would enable them to harass the other settlements continually, as they would have no provisions to look for.

Brant lies but about 20 miles from us upon Charlotte River, and as one party comes in, the other goes out, to the destruction of the smaller settlements. The militia that are with us are quite out of patience; and we are afraid they will leave us; and were we to be attacked in the place where we have made a stand—sorry we are to think so, but more to say it—there are not over 30 men that would stand their ground. This, Sir, is our present situation.

On June 15th, James Dean, the Indian commissioner, reported to General Schuyler, that Colonel Butler had "collected a considerable party of Indians of various tribes, with which, as he gives out, he is determined to join Joseph Brant upon the frontier of this country. It is supposed he is by this time as far on his way as Oghwaga." Citizens of Schenectady, on June 15th, wrote to Governor Clinton:

Your Excellency may depend on it, that it is no sham to frighten the people, but a thing in real existence, for the people are flying and crowding into this town in great numbers, and by the best information the enemy are really round about there, and are determined to destroy, and burn up that whole county, and unless soon relieved, we undoubtedly believe they will effect it, and the loss that will arise therefrom to the unhappy individuals of that part of the country will be

nothing in comparison to the loss of the United States, as it is one of our principal wheat countrys.

Soon were these prophecies fulfilled. On June 18th, Brant reached Springfield and destroyed it. He then destroyed Andrustown, and other settlements near Otsego Lake. Colonel Klock sent the following report to Governor Clinton:

Houses, barns, even wagons, ploughs and the hay cocks in the meadows at Springfield were laid in ashes. Fourteen men were carried away prisoners, and eight killed. All the provisions were taken on horses, and carried off. Two hundred creatures (horses and chiefly cattle) were driven down the Susquehanna. Last Sunday morning the enemy set off with this booty from the house of one Tunnicliff. All this has been done while the garrison at Cherry Valley did not know anything about an enemy; though Springfield is not above four miles distant from the said place.

Several people, who have been prisoners and did escape, affirm that Brant was the commander, and that his party consists of about five hundred. So much is certain, that his number encreaseth daily; many very lately did run off, moved by disaffection; others join him, moved by fear, and several are forced to take up arms against us, or to swear allegiance to the King of Britain. We are informed and Brant boasted openly, that he will be joined at Unadilla by Butler, and that within eight days he will return and lay the whole county waste. The dreadful sight of Springfield and Andrustown, heightened with these reports, puts the people of the county into the greatest consternation; they speak of nothing but flying off. Harvest time is at hand, and no prospect of a speedy assistance. The officers and the principal inhabitants meet with the greatest difficulties, to persuade the people to stand out only but a few days, until it should be in the power of the government to send us relief.*

*Clinton Papers, vol. iii.

After the burning of Springfield, Captain Robert McKean with five men was sent out from Cherry Valley to observe Brant. They learned from Mr. Sleeper of Factory Creek, that Brant had been at his house the same day with fifty men. McKean concluded to abandon his intention of going on to Unadilla, but he left Brant a note inviting him to Cherry Valley and promising to "change him from a Brant to a goose." Brant was inclined to accept this invitation, but on learning that McKean had returned to arouse the settlement, he abandoned his purpose.

One week after these events Barnabas Kelly, who had lived at a settlement called Brooks's on the Butternut Creek, reached Henry Herkimer's farm at the foot of Schuyler's Lake and there joined a scout from German Flatts with whom he returned to the latter place where he made a statement under oath in which appears the following: *

Soon after the Battle at Cobus Kill, he the said Kelly, was at the Butter nut. About 40 white men and two Indians bought about 17 head of horned cattle of Brooks, Garrett, Johnson & Knapp, and about seven hundred weight of cheese for which they gave them notes upon Butler. Of Capt. Service, Sir John Johnson's uncle, they got about 40 or 50 scipple of flour, and he says Capt. Service sent word to them, that they should come and fetch it. One Carr who lives at Major Edmeston's sent them word that he had 40 skipple of corn for them, but whether they got it or not he did not learn.

And further he heard that Joseph Brant had been with Butler at Skeemonk,† about two days' journey from Ocquagoe, since the battle at Cobus Kill, to see what kept Butler so long behind, and it was supposed to be occasioned

* Clinton Papers, vol. iii. † Chemung.

by the country's being alarmed; and he further declareth, that he heard John Young at the Butter nut, read a proclamation from Butler, desiring all the friends to government to join him, and to bring in all their cattle together with their wives and families, and they should be kindly received by the said Butler.

After the battle at Cobus Kill Brant heard that the militia was to slay him at Youghams* on the Susquehanna, on which Brant took 5 Indians with him, and went to Cherry Valley to know the truth, and that they met two men, one of whom was an express, and that they killed one and took the other prisoner; and the man they took prisoner was a blacksmith, and he heard say that Brant said he was sorry they had killed the other † for he was a good king's man.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Ford, reporting on the burning of Springfield from Cherry Valley on July 18th, said he had only eighty men fit for duty besides the inhabitants. He had sent out a scouting party, but they found only the ruins of the settlements, with women and children and their effects crowded into the meeting-house, "and they are so thick it seems to me that they must die there." A few days later, a committee from German Flatts reported to Governor Clinton that since Springfield was destroyed, the Indians were "continually alarming us with scalping parties who sometimes kill and scalp one and take another prisoner." From two old men whom Brant had released they learned that Brant expected to join Colonel Butler in about eight days, and then "fall in on the German Flatts and burn and destroy all that came before them." Brant went down to Unadilla with his prisoners, cattle and provisions, and in July wrote at that place the following letter to Percefer Carr at Ed-

* Joachim Van Valkenburg's. † Wormwood.

meston, showing that he contemplated another attack very soon:

I understand by the Indians that was at your house last week, that one Smith lives near you, has little more corn to spare. I should be much obliged to you if you would be so kind as to try to get as much corn as Smith can spared: he has sent five skipples already, of which I am much obliged to him, and will see him paid and would be very glad if you could spare one or two of your own men to join us, especially Elias. I would be glad to see him and I wish you could sent me as many guns you have, as I know you have no use for them, if you any: as I mean now to fight the cruel rebels as well as I can: Whatever you will able to sent'd me you must sent'd by the bearer.

P.S. I heard that Cherry Valley people is very bold and intended to make nothing of us: they called us wild geese, but I know the contrary.

About this time, Captain Alexander Harper, "a gentleman of veracity," reported that "the enemy are at Unadilla very strong, amounting to nigh 3,000 men," but a month later another estimate gave the number as only 1,500. Brant's forces had been rapidly increasing in his absence and a reward was offered for information in regard to the fortifications he had erected.

Early in July a party of about 250 Indians and Tories invaded the Delaware as far down as Minisink, killed several men and took prisoners, cattle, sheep and hogs back to Oghwaga. An affidavit made by Robert Jones at Minisink on July 10th contains the following interesting statement concerning this change in the scene of Brant's operations:

From Canajoharie I went to the Butternut or Old England District, and stayd there 10 or 11 days. Joseph Brant came there with six Indians and 2 or 3 Green Coat

soldiers and stayd two days. He ordered the witness with nine famelies who liv'd at that place to go with him, if friends to government; if not to take their own risk. Himself and 4 families with S'd Brant went to Unadilla, the other five soon followed. Brant did not insist on their going, but would take their cattle. Neither would he protect them unless they went with him. After that the witness and one John Faalkner went with S'd Brant to Oghwaga. After being there some time an express came from Butler to Brant ordering him to march immediately to Tioga, which orders Brant immediately obayd and stayd eight or nine days, saying when he returnd, that he had been at a treaty; that the Indians refusd to join in an expedition to the northward unless they first ware assisted to cut off the inhabetents of Susquehanna, at which treaty it was agreed that Butler should go to Wyoming and that Brant should stay at Anahquago. Brant in the mean time was to collect all the provision he could against the time Butler was to be at Anahquago. For that purpose Brant cald together all the old Indians who left the matter to him as to provision, &c.

Brant then formed an expedition against Laxawaxen for the purpose of collecting provision and went one day on his march, when an express was sent after him requiring him to return immediately, on account that a party from the northward was expected to attack Unadilla. Brant immediately returnd and dispatched all the white men he could to the assistance of Unadilla and 2 days after being last Sunday, S'd Brant followed after, with all the Indians at that place. The same day five indians arrived at Aghquago and gave information of a large number of Sinckes [Senecas] on their march to the same place to joyn Brant. On Tuesday a small number collected who, under the command of Capt'n Jacobs (an Indian) followed after Brant. They left the examinent at Anahquago; he made his escape the same day. On his march says he met about 20 Indians and white men with a number of prisoners, which they told him they got at Laxawaxen.

The examinant also says that Butler is not to come down to Minisink (as he understood from Brant) but was to go from Wyoming on an expidition against Cherry Valley and to be joind by Brant, thinking it a favourable time for the purpose as he understood the time of the militia who guarded it is to expire next Fryday and he intends to attack it the Sunday following.*

An invasion of the Schoharie settlements was next undertaken. Some 300 Indians and Tories, led by one of the McDonalds, a family now conspicuously active among the Tories who had fled from Johnstown at the outbreak of the conflict, killed several of the inhabitants, made others prisoners and burned houses. Their work of destruction did not end until Colonel Harper went to Albany and returned with a squadron of cavalry, who, with the militia in the fort, finally forced the invaders to depart.

Colonel Butler's descent on Wyoming † followed speedily upon the council held at Tioga Point with Brant, at which it was agreed that Brant, instead of going to Wyoming with Butler, should continue his work of collecting Tories and provisions "against the time" when Butler should reach Oghwaga after visiting Wyoming.‡ Brant's failure to take part in the expedition was consistent with his career in this war. His hostility and that of the Mohawks under him was not against Pennsylvania, but against the

* Clinton Papers, vol. iv.

† The meaning of this word is Broad Plains.

‡ This was the only act on the part of Brant that approached even to complicity in the Wyoming barbarities, and yet for more than a hundred years, writers have continually represented that Brant shared with Butler in the atrocities there committed. The poet Campbell gave the error wide publicity by putting it into his "Gertrude." It has never died out of the popular memory. Less than four years ago an eminent American historian inserted it in one of his books.

New York frontier, where lands, rightfully theirs, were theirs no more, and where lived the men who had overthrown them at Oriskany. That Butler should go to Wyoming, was also consistent with the work Butler had undertaken to do. Butler represented the cause of England, not the cause of the Indians, and there in the Wyoming Valley, lay one of the most populous and defenceless settlements that existed remote from the seaboard. To attack and destroy it, was to invite detachments for its defence at the expense of the American army which Howe, Cornwallis, and Clinton sought to overthrow.

Wyoming had been settled from Connecticut, and under the charter granted by the king, was claimed as a township of that State, with the name of Westmoreland. But it was also claimed by the heirs of William Penn. For many years before the Revolution there had been bitter, and even armed, controversy over this disputed ownership. During those Pennamite wars the settlement on three occasions had virtually been destroyed. As early as 1750, men from Connecticut had visited this beautiful wilderness valley, and made report on its extraordinary fertility. But it was not until 1762 that any from that State arrived to cultivate its soil, and not until after the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, that they came in large numbers to establish homes upon it.

Of their interest in this territory, we have already had glimpses in the correspondence between Dr. Wheelock and Sir William Johnson, and of those who were pouring into the valley after the treaty of Fort Stanwix, notes are to be found in the Smith and Wells Journal. Many of these Wyoming pioneers followed the Susquehanna route from

Otsego Lake and Cherry Valley, but others chose the course that had been employed by those who came as explorers in 1750. This route lay directly across the wilderness from the Hudson through the Minisink region to the Delaware, and thence over the hills to the Susquehanna.

Colonel Butler started from Tioga Point, late in June, with about 1,100 men, of whom 400 were British, some of them his own Rangers, others Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, and companies of Tories, among the latter many men whom Brant had recruited along, and near the upper Susquehanna, including Adam Crysler of Schoharie, and McGinnis of Unadilla. The 700 Indians were largely Senecas.

Thus far in the Revolution nothing serious had occurred to disturb the repose of Wyoming. In all its history it had not seen so long a period of tranquillity as the one now about to close in a frightful tragedy. Few parts of the country were more prosperous. The population of the entire region is believed to have reached 5,000. Practically all its men capable of bearing arms had gone into the army, making only one stipulation—that they should not be employed at points too far distant from their own homes. In this precaution are seen the fears of an Indian attack that haunted them.

From the Pennamite Wars had survived at Wyoming a stockade called Forty Fort. The name is still perpetuated in the local geographical nomenclature. Of Colonel Butler's presence at Tioga Point, advance word had reached Wyoming, and within the walls of this structure some 500 women and children assembled, with an improvised force under one of the settlers, Colonel Zebulon Butler, a

veteran of the French war, and an officer in the Continental Army, now home on furlough. This force was an unorganized, inexperienced body, composed of old men and beardless boys, the only adult males who had not enlisted. Of Colonel John Butler's coming, word had been sent to Philadelphia, and a Continental detachment, composed of many Wyoming men, had been sent for relief of the inhabitants. The inexperienced men who gathered in the fort, in the rashness of bravery, overruled the wishes of Colonel Zebulon Butler when the enemy appeared, and although there were only 300 of them, they rushed forward out of the fort to attack the motley and disciplined fighters from Tioga Point, outnumbering them nearly four to one.

The result of this battle on July 3d was appalling. Many were shot down at once. Others were captured, tomahawked and scalped. While Queen Esther sang her war-song above them, fourteen had their brains dashed out. Throughout the valley the torch and tomahawk completed the work of desolation, many women and children finding safety by taking flight to the woods, where they perished from exposure. With a misrepresentation that must have been consciously cynical, Crysler described this barbarous scene as "an engagement in which about 460 * of the enemy were killed." He added that "from there we went to Oghwaga."

The Continental regiment reached Wyoming only to witness a scene of slaughter and desolation. A populous and prosperous settlement had virtually been annihilated. Commanded by Colonel Hartley, and reinforced by a few militia companies,

* Crysler's estimate of the number killed is too large by at least 100.

this regiment proceeded up the valley against several Indian towns toward Oghwaga. Some of these were destroyed. Their ruins were discovered in the following summer by the soldiers who came into the country under General Sullivan. Colonel Hartley took several prisoners, but on learning that the Indians and Tories had assembled at Oghwaga and Unadilla in large numbers, he found it unwise to continue his pursuit.

Colonel John Butler, in this enterprise at Wyoming, is believed to have received encouragement and active assistance from partisans of the Pennamite cause, who, during the Revolution, were mainly Tories. In them still survived an ancient bitterness toward the settlers from Connecticut that was now rendered all the more intense because, almost to a man, those settlers had become devoted supporters of the American cause. Events had thus greatly widened the breach, but the success of the Revolution gave to these Connecticut families double cause for rejoicing. It released them from two enemies at once — the Pennamite partisans and George III. One may easily comprehend, therefore, the enthusiasm with which a local patriotic society * gathers each year on July 3d, at the base of the Wyoming Monument, in commemoration of those who perished in the appalling tragedy on that frontier field of Pennsylvania.

That many of the frontier settlements in New York might have been saved from destruction is as obvious as it is melancholy to recall. Warning after warning had been sent to the authorities, and yet practically nothing—nothing at least that was effective—had been done for their protection. The

* The Wyoming Commemorative Association of Wilkesbarre.

frontiersmen were left to defend themselves with the aid of such small companies of militia as could be gathered. As early as April 8, 1778, General Conway sent word to Governor Clinton that the people on the frontier insisted that a "small party of Continental troops should be without delay stationed at Harpersfield and Schoharie to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, prevent them from moving, and to give time for collecting the militia that is ordered to be raised."

General Clinton, ten days later, wrote to General Conway advising that a company or two of Continental troops be sent to the frontier to act with the militia. From this correspondence the only result down to July appears to have been Captain Patrick's small force so disastrously overwhelmed at Cobleskill. On July 20th General Clinton was advised that if Continental troops did not come the consequences "were to be dreaded, for harvest time had arrived, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the militia could be induced to turn out." Of 600 who had been ordered out in June, only 200 had reported. If Continentals did not arrive, Colonel Klock feared the whole county of Tryon must meet the fate of Springfield. "It is much to be lamented," wrote General Schuyler to Governor Clinton, "that the finest grain country in this state is on the point of being entirely ruined for want of a body of Continental troops."

On whom full responsibility rests for this neglect, perhaps cannot be said, but a large measure of it must fall to General Horatio Gates, then in command of the Northern Department. The main fact, of course, was that the Hudson Valley needed for its defence, now as before, the fullest force pos-

sible. Here was the central ground of the conflict, for control of which had been fought the battles of Long Island, Harlem Heights, Trenton, Princeton, Saratoga, the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth; but the Hudson was now more secure than it had ever been, and men enough ought to have been spared for the protection of the frontier where lay the granary of the northern colonies. General Gates has many blunders, if not worse things, at the door of his unhonored memory, and one of them is neglect of the New York frontier. Governor Clinton wrote from his heart when he said to James Duane, on August 10th: "It is much to be regretted that the operations which were intended by Congress against the Indians have hitherto been so utterly neglected by the commanding officer of the Northern Department." He promised later on to tell Duane the reasons which he thought had influenced Gates's conduct.

III

German Flatts Destroyed

1778

DISASTER was soon to enter the Mohawk Valley. Well up the stream, and not far from the Fort Stanwix line of 1768, stood the thriving settlement of German Flatts, which was now to meet a fate that recalled the one which overwhelmed it during the French War. Here was a settlement that marked almost the farthest advance westward on the Mohawk. A few miles south of it, by passing over the high lands, the traveller reached the head-waters of the Unadilla River.

Warning after warning had been given that German Flatts was in danger. But it was not until July 24th that a Continental force reached the frontier. On that day Colonel Alden's long-expected regiment arrived in Cherry Valley, but this lay many miles to the eastward of German Flatts and on another water-shed. Captain Benjamin Warren has described the scene when this regiment arrived :

> About four o'clock arrived at the garrison, which was a meeting-house picketted in, with a large number of distressed inhabitants crowded in, men, women, and children : drew some rum before the men and placed them in their several quarters. The inhabitants received us with the greatest tokens of joy and respect, and it was like a general jail delivery. They began to take the fresh air and move into the nearest houses from their six weeks' confinement in that place.
>
> Sunday, 26th. About eleven o'clock returned to the

garrison, where we had a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Johnston * from these words: "Be of good cheer and play the man for our people, and the cities of our God, and the Lord will do what seemeth Him good."

Word reached Cherry Valley on August 10th that Brant intended making an attack, "in consequence of which," says Warren, "Captain Ballard, with a party of sixty men, was sent out to make discovery." Ballard went to Butternut Creek, where were still dwelling several Tory families, while the remaining troops occupied themselves with strengthening the fort. Ballard brought back seventy-three heads of cattle, forty sheep, fourteen horses, and fourteen Tories. The next day Ballard set out for Albany with the Tories. Another scouting expedition under an officer named Wheelock went to Unadilla, and other scouts were constantly employed for two months, Warren's account of them being as follows:

Aug. 16th. A small scout of six men went out near Tunacliss',† fell in with a small party of the Indians, killed one, but the rest escaped.

Aug. 19th. On receiving intelligence by one of our scouts that Brant and his party were to be at Tunacliss', a party of one hundred and fifty men commanded by Col. Stacy marched by the way of the foot of Lake Osago [Otsego]; came to houses about seventeen miles and lodged there [Warren was in the party].

Aug. 21st. This morning about daybreak paraded, marched through low and swampy ground. About ten o'clock crossed two creeks and twelve o'clock arrived on a mountain, looking down on Tunacliss' house: made no discovery of the enemy: sent a party each way to the right and left to surround the house; we then rushed down;

* William Johnston, the Sidney pioneer. † Richfield.

found none of them, though a sumptuous meal prepared for the enemy, who on our arrival at the house fired a gun in the woods near us and some were seen to run off. The women would give us no information, but a lad being threatened, informed that some Indians had been there that morning. We made good use of the victuals and proceeded to the foot of Schuyler's lake; forded the creek, and marched down to Schuyler's house, about nine miles; made no discovery of the enemy; lodged there.

We sent a scout down to Tunadilla, who took three prisoners out of their beds and came off undiscovered; who gave information on examination that Brant was to muster and arm his men the next day, and march for this place [Cherry Valley] or the Flats; that his party was about 400 or 500 strong.

McKendry says this scout was McKean and that he returned on September 9th. One of the prisoners was an inhabitant of Unadilla, who said that Brant had issued orders "for a meeting, in order to draw ammunition; that there was an expedition going on, but could not tell which way." He said the number of Indians and Tories was "reported to be 2,000." The other prisoner told the same story as to an expedition, but placed the number of the enemy at 400 to 600, of whom 100 were at Unadilla, the others at Oghwaga.

At German Flatts Brant had been expected all through the summer. In September nine men from that place were sent down the Unadilla River to learn what he was doing. At the Edmeston settlement some Indians surprised and killed three of them, driving the others into the Unadilla River. John Adam Helmer fled back in hot haste to the settlement with news that Brant was advancing with a large force. Helmer arrived with his clothing

"torn to tatters, his eyes bloodshot, his hands, face, and limbs lacerated, and bleeding from the effects of the brambles and bushes through which he had forced his headlong flight."

An hour later, on September 17th, Brant, with 310 Tories and 152 Indians, arrived, and camped in a ravine for the night, ignorant of the fact that Helmer's warning had sent all the inhabitants into the neighboring forts—Forts Herkimer and Dayton—occupying the two sides of the river. In the gray of the morning Brant set fire to the settlement, and the people in the forts were thus able to witness the destruction of their homes. All that was left standing of the settlement around Fort Dayton comprised the fort, church, and two houses. An attempt to take the fort proved unsuccessful. Across the river the enemy "burned all the houses, barns and grain, quite down to the church," but at the fort "we sallied out with what men we could spare and kept them from destroying any more houses." * There were 63 houses burned, 57 barns, 4 mills, all the furniture and grain, and a good many hogs were killed. On his return down the river to Unadilla, Brant carried away 235 horses, 229 cattle, 269 sheep, and 93 oxen.

Soon after Brant started to return, a militia force of 300 or 400 men set out in pursuit, but went only as far as Edmeston, where they buried the three scouts whom the Indians had killed. At Edmeston lived Brant's friend Carr, who met a hard fate. Some Oneidas invaded his estate, killed his servants and carried the family into captivity, where they remained until the war closed. A story has come down that a horse left on the farm was found

* Colonel Bellinger's Report, printed in the Clinton Papers, vol. iv.

still there when they returned in 1783, having survived all the hardships of its lonely lot.

Some Oneidas and Tuscaroras soon afterward invaded the Unadilla Valley, burnt several houses, retook some of the German Flatts cattle, and brought back a number of prisoners. In their report the Indians said:

> We have now taken the hatchet and burnt Unadilla and a place called the Butternutts. We have brought five prisoners from each of the above places. Our warriors were particular that no hurt should be done to women and children. We left four old men behind who were no more able to go to war. The Grass Hopper, one of the Oneida chiefs, took to himself one of the prisoners to live with him in his own family; his name is William Lull, and has adopted him as his son. Brothers, we deliver to you six prisoners with whom you are to act as you please.

The other prisoners were Robert McGinnis, John McGinnis, John Harrison, Michael Stopplopen, Barry Laughlin, Moses Thurston, Caleb Lull, and Benjamin Lull. Captain Warren says of the action taken at Cherry Valley on receipt of the news from German Flatts:

> Immediately on our receiving intelligence, which was twenty-four hours after it was done, though but twelve miles distant, Major Whiting went out with one hundred and eighty men, who pursued them as far as the Butternuts, but could not overtake them. He took three of their party, tories, and brought them in with some stock they left in their hurry. Brant's party, fearing the country would be upon their backs, made what haste back they could. A division of them arrived first at Tunadilla, and found the place had been beset with our people and put off immediately.

Failing still to secure adequate aid from the State or national authorities, a committee writing from

Canajoharie on September 28th, made the following appeal to Governor Clinton:

Woeful Experience teaches us that the Troops in Cherry Valley are by no means a Defence for any other Part of the Country. Strange as it may appear to your Excellency, it is no less true, that our Militia by Desertion to the Enemy and by Enlistments into our Service, are reduced to less than seven hundred Men. Indeed if these 700 would do their Duty and act like Men, we might perhaps give the Enemy a Check, so as to give Time to the Militia from below to come up, but, Sir, they are actuated by such an ungovernable Spirit that it is out of the Power of any Officer in this County to command them with any Credit to himself—for notwithstan'g the utmost Exertion the Officers have nothing but Blame in return.

From the Information we are able to collect from Prisoners and otherwise, we learn that the Enemy, when at the German Flatts, were 500 or upwards strong, commanded by a Capt. Caldwell. That they intended soon to make another Incursion, and that a Reinforcement of 5 or 600 were on its March from the western Nations of Indians to join the Enemy, Indians being frequently seen and our People fired upon, seems in our opinion to indicate a speedy Return of the Enemy.

IV

The Burning of Unadilla and Oghwaga

1778

VIGOROUS measures were now to be employed against the enemy. Heretofore they had practically had no opposition. The man to whom was committed this work was another man named Butler—Colonel William Butler. With his regiment of Scotch-Irish and four companies of Morgan's Riflemen, Butler, in August, was stationed at Schoharie. Late, indeed, was his coming, and he had come as the result of many passionate appeals. Had he or some other commander come earlier with a force strong enough to have held Unadilla against an advance, this whole story of desolation in Schoharie and around Otsego Lake might never have been told.

Governor Clinton, on May 30th, the day of the battle of Cobleskill, had conveyed to Colonel Klock his wishes that a detachment of militia commanded by Colonel Clyde be sent to Unadilla. He believed it would be "attended with very important consequences." As events turned out in Cobleskill, a mere detachment sent to Unadilla probably would have been annihilated. On June 11th Governor Clinton, referring to Colonel Alden's assignment to Cherry Valley, wrote:

No force that can be collected will be able to afford full protection to the inhabitants unless the flying party by

whom they are distressed can be routed at the places where they usually rendezvous. This, I am informed, is Unadilla. I would therefore advise an expedition against that place, if you and Gen. Stark shall judge it practicable.

On July 1st General Ten Broeck advised Governor Clinton that "the people of Tryon County are much for the enterprise to Unadilla." They had requested him to appoint the officers to command it. There were reasons why it was thought the command ought to fall to Colonel Peter R. Livingston; but Ten Broeck was not in favor of Livingston, and suggested that a Continental officer, and perhaps Colonel Marinus Willett, be named instead. Governor Clinton was favorable to Colonel Willett, but he seems not to have been available, being wanted elsewhere. Meanwhile had occurred the burning of Springfield and the massacre of Wyoming.

On July 21st we find Governor Clinton suggesting to Washington that Colonel Butler's Continental regiment, "instead of halting at Wawarsing, should proceed immediately at least as far north as Schoharie, as it is most probable the next attempt of the enemy will be against that settlement." On July 29th Colonel Butler was in Albany and complained to Governor Clinton:

Gen. Stark, on my showing him my instructions, said it was impossible to carry on offensive operations against the enemy at present, and (to make use of his own words) it would be like pulling a cat by the tail to get out the militia at this time. He says some time hence we may attack them and intimates that he intends to command the expedition himself. He has also ordered Col. Alden to join his regiment now lying at Cherry Valley, which deprives me of the honor your Excellency intended me in

the command of the whole. If your Excellency thinks me worthy of the command and empowers me to carry on offensive measures against the enemy, I will do it at the risk of my honor and everything I hold sacred. If this cannot be, I will do my duty in the command of my detachment.*

Two days later Butler had reached Schoharie with his regiment and reported that the accounts of the enemy "are exceeding various, but from the best intelligence that I have yet been able to get they are about fifteen hundred in number at Unadilla." He had made an addition to the fort in Schoharie and mounted two pieces of artillery. On August 13th he wrote further to Governor Clinton:

On my arrival here I found three forts erected by the inhabitants for their protection within four miles of each other. I took post at one I thought most liable to be attacked and immediately sent out a subaltern with a small scout to reconnoitre the country, and to make what discoveries he could of the enemy. He proceeded about 25 miles to one Service's, a noted villain, who had constantly supply'd the enemy with necessaries. Service luckily was at home, and upon his refusing to surrender, and making some resistance, one of the party shot him. They also brought in 4 prisoners.

Before the return of the scout I received intelligence from Genl. Stark of one Smith who had raised a number of Tories and was marching to join the enemy. I immediately detached Capt. Long, of the Rifle Corps, with a party to intercept their march. Captain Long fell in with them, kill'd Smith and brought in his scalp, brought in also one prisoner and it is thought wounded a number. Only one of Capt. Long's party was wounded.

With the prisoners taken by the first party, there was some letters from Smith to Butler and Brant, informing

* Clinton Papers, vol. iii.

them that he would meet them at Service's on Sunday following with a number of Tories whom he had engaged. I also had intelligence that the intention of the enemy was to march in a body to Service's and there divide, one party to attack Cherry Valley and the other this place.

Except in these instances I have been obliged to act totally on the defensive; the little dependence that can be put in the few militia that do turn out, the disaffection of most of the inhabitants to us, the distance and wilderness of country that we have to pass through to the enemy without the necessaries for such an expedition, make it very difficult in my present situation to act otherwise.

Since my coming here numbers of the disaffected people begin to have a proper sense of their error, and are hourly coming in, begging protection, and are desirous of taking the oath of fidelity to the States.*

Service's house was in Harpersfield. The local tradition concerning his fate is that when Captain Long and his men surrounded his house, two of them, David Elerson and Timothy Murphy, entered and made Service a prisoner. Watching for his opportunity, Service seized an axe and was aiming for Murphy's head when a shot from Elerson brought him dead to the floor. Murphy became a picturesque figure in the Border Wars. He came originally from Virginia and owed much of his success to his accuracy of aim and his double-barrelled rifle, of whose peculiar utility the Indians seem to have been ignorant. He acquired many of the arts of the Indians in warfare, and was known to scalp his victims. It was said at the close of the war that he had personally killed forty Indians.

Of Murphy many striking tales have been narrated—some of them almost too good to be true.

* Clinton Papers, vol. iii.

He was once sent out with a small company of riflemen to destroy an Indian and Tory village near Unadilla. A contributor to Jay Gould's book relates that "after a laborious march through marshes and over mountains in which they endured innumerable privations, they arrived in sight of the village, which lay in a beautiful valley. They remained on the mountain until midnight, when they advanced slowly and cautiously. Luckily most of the Indians were asleep, and after a warm contest, in which clubs, fists, feet, and tomahawks were used by the old Indians, squaws, and papooses, and were resented by the riflemen with fists, feet, and the ends of their guns, the village was reduced to ashes." Before the riflemen returned home, the Indian warriors reached their ruined village and killed several of the men. But Murphy and some others escaped, Murphy finding a hiding-place in a large hollow log. It so happened that the Indians chose their camping-place that night near this log, so that Murphy was obliged to spend the night as comfortably as he could. On the following morning, when one Indian remained alone in the camp, Murphy killed that man and made his escape.

Meanwhile Colonel Cantine was commanding some militia on the frontier of Ulster and Orange counties. On September 6th Governor Clinton wrote to him: "I am fully convinced that we are not to have peace on our frontier until the straggling Indians and Tories who infest it are exterminated or driven back and their settlements destroyed. If, therefore, you can destroy the settlement at Oghwaga, it will, in my opinion, be a good piece of service."

This work was to be undertaken by other hands,

and very soon. Colonel Butler's plans for an expedition to Unadilla having finally met with the approval of General Stark, Butler, about September 20th, sent out four men as scouts, who returned with three prisoners from Unadilla and reported that the number of the enemy at that place reached 300 and at Oghwaga 400, while the number at Tioga Point could not be ascertained. A scout who went to Unadilla some days later (possibly Murphy) returned word that the Indians had fled.

Butler now started for the Susquehanna with his regiment, the riflemen, and some Indians—in all about 500 men, according to Warren. He crossed the hills from Schoharie to the Delaware, and thence proceeded to the Ouleout, which he reached below the site of Franklin village, following the stream to the Scotch Settlement, Albout. An account of the expedition is contained in a letter, written by Butler himself to General Stark. Having described the march as far as the Ouleout, Butler says :

> Oct. 6. Began our march early this morning and at dusk arrived within eight miles of the Unadilla settlement. I here detailed Lieuts. Stewart and Long, with small parties, to make prisoners of some inhabitants who lived within four miles of Unadilla. I then continued my road in the night, in order to be better concealed and within a smaller distance from the settlement from whence I might make the attack early in the morning. But after having reached about seven miles I met the parties who were detached with one prisoner; he told me the enemy had left the place some days before and were gone to Anaquago.

Butler now started for the Johnston Settlement, taking the trail on the Sidney side of the river. On October 8th, early in the morning, he says he " de-

tailed Lieutenant Stewart with four men to Unadilla to make a prisoner of one Glagford who I intended should guide me to Anaquago." Stewart secured his man, the sole occupant of the place, and "after the troops had cooked their provisions and rested themselves a little, marched five miles beyond Unadilla." Of the destruction of Oghwaga the best account is given by Captain William Gray, one of Butler's officers, who says:

> We marched down the river Susquehanna for Oghquaga, the chief Indian town, where we thought to start a party of savages and Tories by surprise; but we happened unluckily to be discovered by some scouting savages who made the best of their way. We could not come up with them, though our scouting party travelled all night to no purpose. We got to Oghquaga about 10 o'clock at night, which we found evacuated, also in greatest disorder. Everything seemed as if they had fled in greatest haste. Next morning we set the town (which consisted of 30 or 40 good houses) in flames, destroying therein great quantities of household furniture and Indian corn. The same day we marched from Oghquaga up the river to another town called Cunahunta, burning some Indian houses and corn on the road. From there we marched very early, leaving it in flames.

Gray says that on their return, when they came to the river about one and a half miles below the mouth of the Unadilla, it was "dreadful to see so large a stream to the man's breast, and very rapid and rising at the rate of one inch a minute, but by the pressing desire of the men to get on and the diligence of the officers with their own and the pack horses they were all got over safe, which if we had been but an hour longer we could not have crossed, and God only knows what would have been the dreadful consequences." Butler's letter, under date

of October 10th, describes the burning of the houses near the mouth of the Unadilla:

October 10. This day we burned all the houses in the Unadilla settlement that were on the south side of the Susquehanna, except Glagford's. We also burned a saw and grist mill, the latter the only one in the country.

October 11. This day I ordered the troops to rest and clean their arms, and prepared a raft to transport some men on the Susquehanna to burn the other part of the Unadilla settlement. Lieut. Long, with one private, crossed in the raft and burned all the houses. According to my computation I think there were upwards of 4,000 bushels of grain destroyed at Anaquago and Unadilla.

Gray says the expedition proceeded the same evening "up the east side of the river as far as the Scotch Settlement, burning all we met along that could be of any use to the enemy. We could not march thence on Sunday by reason of the great rains. On Monday we marched, burning some Tory houses before we set out, and encamped in the woods that night." This camping place was at the mouth of Handsome Brook.*

After an absence of sixteen days the expedition reached Schoharie with forty-nine captured horses and fifty-two horned cattle. Including the officers there were 260 men in the command. Warren's statement that there were 500 men is obviously an error. Besides the 4,000 bushels of grain found at the two settlements, there was a large quantity of vegetables and poultry, besides several dogs and household goods. Butler's men fared sumptuously. Stone says Oghwaga "was uncommonly well built

* The map that accompanies Gray's letter shows that the Scotch Settlement lay on both sides of the Ouleout, and that there were Indian huts farther up the stream.

for an Indian settlement, there being a considerable number of good farm-houses on either side of the river. These were all destroyed, together with the Indian castle three miles farther down the river, as also large quantities of provision intended for their winter's supply." Butler describes Oghwaga as "the finest Indian town I ever saw."

The Indians had left Oghwaga only the day before Butler arrived, and had made their way to the Delaware at Cookoze,* whence they descended upon some of the Minisink settlements. Brant had 100 men with him, and besides killing several persons, burned barns well filled with the year's crops and carried off many cattle. By the time Butler reached Schoharie, Brant had probably arrived in Oghwaga to learn of the fate that had overtaken his principal base of supplies.

* Sometimes written Cook House and now Deposit. Here, in 1858, eighty years after these events, a granddaughter of Brant was killed in an accident to a train on the Erie Railroad while the train was standing at the station. She was buried in Owego.

V

The Cherry Valley Massacre

1778

THE massacre of Cherry Valley followed speedily upon the destruction of Unadilla and Oghwaga, and may be traced directly to Colonel Butler's drastic work. Although an attack had long been contemplated, this massacre as to its immediate causes was an act of retaliation.

Four Indian chiefs, a month after the attack, declared to Colonel Cantine that "your rebels came to Oghwaga when we Indians were gone, and you burned our houses, which made us and our brothers, the Seneca Indians, angry, so that we destroyed men, women, and children at Cherry Valley." * Many of the Indians had a bitter hatred of Cherry Valley, for there lived Colonel Samuel Clyde † and Colonel Samuel Campbell, both of whom had been conspicuous in the battle of Oriskany.‡ Another motive on the part of the Indians had survived from the massacre of Wyoming, four months before. At the capitulation of Forty Fort, Colonel Dennison had entered into an agreement not to serve against

* Clinton Papers, vol. iv.

† Colonel Clyde's wife was Catherine Wasson, a niece of Dr. Matthew Thornton, of Londonderry, N. H., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Her early home was at Amsterdam, where she had known Brant as a boy playmate of her brothers.

‡ Dr. James D. Clyde, of Cherry Valley, still possesses the British musket with which Colonel Clyde was knocked down in this battle. The soldier was about to run him through with the bayonet when an American shot the soldier, the ball tearing away a piece of the stock of the gun.



MONUMENT AT CHERRY VALLEY TO THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE MASSACRE

(On the site of the Revolutionary Fort.)

the forces of Great Britain again, but when Colonel Hartley set out in pursuit of Colonel John Butler and destroyed some Indian towns on the upper Susquehanna, Dennison went with him. This had deepened the feeling of resentment on the part of the Indians toward all settlers on the frontier. Still another motive of revenge sprang from the breast of a white man—one who has been commonly accepted as the master fiend in this tragedy.

Just before the Indian council assembled at Tioga Point, Brant had been on his way to Niagara for the winter. He had the misfortune somewhere on the Susquehanna beyond Oghwaga to fall in with Captain Walter Butler. Butler had recently been tried at court-martial and punished with imprisonment as a spy, this court having been ordered by Benedict Arnold. In April he had made his escape and was now anxious for revenge. He found the Senecas and some of the other Indians stirred to revenge quite willing to join him in an expedition to Cherry Valley. Brant argued against the expedition but was induced to yield. His opposition probably sprang in part from his dislike of Walter Butler. Butler, moreover, was to command the expedition, and this was not pleasing to Brant.

It was strange that General Hand, who was now in command at Albany, had failed to make adequate preparations against an attack. So far from doing so he seems to have contemplated an actual removal from Cherry Valley of its only defence, Colonel Alden's regiment. On October 12th Captain Warren wrote in his diary that the regiment was "likely to be removed from here soon." Early in November General Hand went himself to Cherry Valley, and Warren writes that during his

stay "an express arrived from Fort Schuyler informing that one of the Oneidas was at a council of war of the enemy's in which it was determined to visit Cherry Valley." This message came from Colonel Gansevoort and stated that the council had been held at Tioga Point, which, in fact, was the case.

General Hand thereupon returned to the Mohawk Valley, and ordered Colonel Klock to "send immediately 200 men" to reinforce Cherry Valley. He sent word that Klock would arrive on November 9th. On the 7th twenty citizens had signed a letter to Hand expressing great fears of an early attack and adding "to prevent which and to disappoint our fears, Oh, General, let a sufficient number of troops be allowed us, and if possible those we now have under Colonel Alden, as they now are acquainted with our country and the roads and haunts of our enemy; so that by their means we may be secured from slaughter and devastation." Although Colonel Klock was only twenty miles away he failed to reach Cherry Valley on November 9th as promised. When he did arrive he was too late. The massacre had already occurred.

The attacking force, marching from Tioga Point, received additions on its way up the Susquehanna until 800 men, of whom 600 were Indians, 150 Tories, 50 British troops, and 4 British officers, were collected, including Senecas under Hiokatoo.

On November 9th Colonel Alden, hearing nothing from Colonel Klock, sent a scouting party of one sergeant and eight men down the valley. They soon met the advancing invaders and were made prisoners. Two days later, at midday, the attack on Cherry Valley was made. The enemy did not come

directly along the highway that followed the creek, but descended from a hill below the village where they had spent the night, a spot now frequently pointed out to travellers. They gave the settlement a complete surprise, "notwithstanding all our endeavors to the contrary," wrote Major Whiting.

One of the most shocking incidents connected with the massacre was the first—the killing of the Robert Wells family, comprising nine members and three servants. Every one of the family, except John Wells, a son then attending school in Schenectady, was murdered. The Wells house was on the site of the Lindesay settlement of 1739, now known as the Phelan place, an elevated and beautiful spot, just below the village. Captain Wells himself was killed by a Tory who boasted afterward that he did this while Captain Wells was on his knees in prayer. Wells's daughter Jane fled to a place behind a pile of wood, but a Seneca Indian found her there and slew her with his tomahawk. Captain Wells had been intimately associated with Sir William Johnson in his official work and was one of the best-known men on the frontier. When Colonel Butler heard of his fate he said, "I would have gone miles on my hands and knees to have saved that family, and why my son did not do so God only knows." Brant had known the family for many years, and his comment was that they were as dear to him as his own.

Colonel Alden had fled from this house as he saw the enemy approaching, hoping to reach the fort, but he was killed on the road by a blow from a tomahawk. One of the scouting party was forced to guide the enemy to the quarters of the officers who were living in private houses outside the

fort. When the advance was made on the fort, Whiting says, "had it not been for the great activity and alertness of the troops, they had rushed within the lines. We had about six or eight of the regiment killed." Warren's account is as follows:

The enemy pushed vigorously for the Fort, but our Soldiers behaved with great spirit and alertness; defended the Fort, and repulsed them after three hours and a half smart engagement. Twelve of the regiment beside the Col. killed, and two wounded.

Nov. 12.—The Indians came on again, and gave a shout for rushing on, but our cannon played on them back; they soon gave way; they then went round the settlement, burnt all the buildings, mostly the first day, and collected all the stock and drove the most of it off, killed and captured all the inhabitants, a few that hid in the woods excepted, who have since got into the fort.

Nov. 13—In the afternoon and morning of the 13th we sent out parties after the enemy withdrew; brought in the dead; such a shocking sight my eyes never beheld before of savage and brutal barbarity; to see the husband mourning over his dead wife, with four dead children lying by her side, mangled, scalpt, and some of the heads, some the legs and arms cut off, some the flesh torn off their bones by their dogs—twelve of one family all killed and four of them burnt in his house.

Saturday 14th.—The enemy seem to be gone; we sent out to collect what was left of cattle or anything; found some more dead and buried them.

Sunday 15th—This day some provisions arrived, being the first supply after the first attack, when we had not a pound of bread for men in garrison for four or five days, but a trifle of meat. In the afternoon a scout we thought had been taken by them, a sergeant and eight arrived in safe. But some they took prisoners they let go again; informed they had a number wounded, and we saw a number of them fall, so that we have reason to think killed more of them

than they killed of our regiment, though they butchered about 40 women and children, that have been found. It came on to storm before the engagement began; first with rain, but for the day past it has been a thick snowstorm.

Monday 16th—The snow continued falling and is almost knee deep on a level.

Though there were 300 men between this and the river [Mohawk] most of them together before we were attacked, yet they came within four miles and laid there until they were assured the enemy was gone off.* Col. [William] Butler, though near forty miles off, marched and got near and would have been the first to our assistance, had we not sent him word they were gone off. We are here in a schocking situation; scarcely an officer that has anything left but what they have on their backs.†

The citizens killed were thirty in number, and seventy-one others were made prisoners, the most of them being released afterward. The number of houses burned was twenty, of barns twenty-five, and of mills two. During the night after the attack many inhabitants were shut out from the fort "where they lay all night in the rain with the children who suffered most." One of the prisoners was a boy named Campbell whose son William W. was afterward to write the well-known history of these times.

Among those who escaped were the Johnstons. Hugh Johnston, then a lad, saw from the fort the

* Warren refers here to Colonel Klock's dilatory action under General Hand's orders. Warren's Diary is in the Spark's Collection of Manuscripts at Harvard.

† McKendry gives the names of the Continentals who were killed as follows: Ichabod Alden, Robert Henderson, Thomas Sheldon, Gideon Day, Benjamin Adams, Thomas Mires (sic), Thomas Hilden, Daniel Dudley, Enos Blakeley, Thomas Noles, Oliver Deboll, Simeon Hopkins, and Robert Bray. Those made prisoners were: Colonel William Stacey, Lieutenant Aaron Holden, Ensign Andrew Garret, Sergeant Suzer de Bean, and eleven privates whose names McKendry does not give.

advance of the Indians and hastened to Mrs. Cannon's house, where his father lived, and gave the warning by which the Dominie, his wife, and children were able to hasten to the woods and there secrete themselves. From this point of safety they witnessed the destruction of the settlement. A lad seven years old who accompanied them was David McMaster, a grandson of the Dominie, who settled in Unadilla after the war. Mr. Johnston had now lived in Cherry Valley for more than a year. A month before the massacre he had married Captain McKean and Mrs. Jennie Campbell. Lieutenant McKendry describes him as "late of Tunadilla," and says he performed another marriage ceremony in September at which the guests "drank seven gallons of wine." On the arrival of Colonel Alden's regiment he had been made chaplain.

Another who escaped was Mr. Dunlop, who owed his life to Little Aaron, one of the chiefs of the Oghwaga Mohawks.* But Mr. Dunlop's wife perished in the storm. In Cherry Valley is still preserved an ancient clock made in Kilmarnock, Scotland, that escaped the fire which burned the Campbell home. It was originally brought into the country by the pioneer Campbell, and was saved from the fire by a boy who concealed it in an orchard near the house.

Here in Cherry Valley now dwelt the Ogdens of Otego. When the alarm came, Mrs. Ogden with her children fled to the woods, carrying a blanket

* Campbell describes the incident as follows: "Little Aaron led him out from the house tottering with age, and stood beside him to protect him. An Indian passing by pulled his hat from his head and ran away with it; the Chief pursued him and regained it. On his return another Indian had carried away Mr. Dunlop's wig; the rain was falling upon his bare head, while his whole system shook like an aspen under the continued influences of age, fear, and cold. He died about a year after; his death was hastened by his misfortunes."

with which to cover them. She finally made her way in safety to the Mohawk, where her husband, some days later, joined them. The Ogdens had been well known to Brant before the war. As we have seen, Brant had often been down the Susquehanna in his canoe on expeditions of war and surveying and was familiar with the Otego home of the Ogdens. The father had become famous as a hunter of beaver and a scout.

Besides the older part of the present cemetery, the Cherry Valley fort included the adjacent street and some of the land across it. It was large enough to contain all the inhabitants of the place, though hardly with comfort. Colonel Alden has been blamed for not admitting them after the news of November 9th, and has been partially excused on the ground that he was ignorant of Indian methods in war. The passages already given from Warren's Diary hardly justify exclusive criticism of Alden. General Hand's visit to Cherry Valley a few days before the attack (he was there as late as November 8th), and the unfulfilled promises of reinforcements on November 9th, complicate the problem of official responsibility. For Colonel Klock's failure to reach Cherry Valley before the massacre no excuse seems possible. The distance was only twenty miles and the road was old and well travelled. When at last he did arrive, his orders from General Hand were to pursue the enemy "if he found it practicable." But it appears that "for want of provisions and ammunition," and in the belief that "the enemy had gone too far to be overtaken," he then gave up all thought of pursuit and proceeded to disband his regiment.*

* Clinton Papers, vol. iv.

Captain William Harper seems to have voiced the sentiments of the inhabitants when he wrote to Governor Clinton on December 2d that Klock had come to Cherry Valley, "warmed himself, turned about, marched back without affording the distressed inhabitants the least assistance or release, even to bury the dead, or to collect the small remains of their cattle or goods." Captain Harper in another letter to Governor Clinton, of February 16th following, declared that Klock had promised Hand that he would send 400 men "some days before the enemy arrived." When finally he came, he "did not stay above two or three hours, notwithstanding the enemy had not retired above six or seven miles from the settlement." Captain Harper made similar references to Colonel Fisher, who arrived the same day as Klock. After the manner of Klock, Fisher refused either to stay or to assist in burying the dead, or otherwise to relieve the distress of the inhabitants.

General Hand, who had left matters entirely in charge of these shrinking militia colonels, was back in Albany before the massacre occurred. It is quite clear that he failed to take the situation seriously. At any rate, he was not clear-sighted in his judgment as to its gravity; nor was he vigorous in action for giving relief. He shared this neglect, however, with many other men with whose commands had gone an obligation to protect the frontier.

Within the fort Colonel Alden's body was buried with military honors, including the firing of three volleys over his grave. A stone still marks this burial-place, to which devout pilgrimages have been made for more than 100 years. Adjoining this

grave in 1825 was buried the wife of Colonel Clyde, and in the digging of the grave Alden's remains were exposed. "I saw and examined his skull," says Levi Beardsley, "which was sound as when first buried. The tomahawk with which he was struck after being shot, had not cut through to the brain, but seemed to have glanced off, chipping away a portion of the skull. The cavity was discolored with blood and several lines or marks where the tomahawk had entered were red and bright. Alvin Stewart took away one of the teeth."

Had the methods of Brant prevailed in this attack, less bloodshed would have occurred. His methods were of an honorable kind, warfare by him having never been attended by downright massacre, but by the taking of prisoners, cattle, and provisions, and the burning of houses and barns. Campbell narrates incidents showing his humanity at Cherry Valley. The most barbarous part of the work was done by Tories and the Senecas. The Tories incited the Indians to barbarities to which by nature they were inclined, while the Senecas were led by Hiokatoo, a chief whose unparalleled cruelties to his enemies have been admitted by his own wife, Mary Jemison. She lived with him for nearly half a century. He was a fierce and cruel savage who butchered infants, but she says that, although war was his trade from youth till old age and decrepitude unfitted him for it, he "uniformly treated me with tenderness and never offered an insult." Hiokatoo had been at Braddock's defeat, where, having taken two prisoners, he burned them alive.

Brant eagerly inquired at Cherry Valley for Captain McKean, saying he had come to accept his

challenge. He characterized McKean as "a fine soldier thus to retreat," and he "would have given more to take him than any other man in Cherry Valley, but would not have hurt a hair of his head." Brant, after the war, maintained that he had never killed but one man unfairly, and in that case his act was due to a misapprehension. He had questioned the man, who was a prisoner, and finding him obstinate and apparently untruthful, killed him on the spot. Lying, it should be remembered, was an offence for which the Iroquois inflicted the punishment of death. Brant was sincerely affected afterward when he learned that the man's conduct was due to an impediment in his speech.

Of Brant's humanity in the Border Wars many stories have been related. He was a Mason and at Minisink saved the life of a prisoner who gave him the sign of distress. On another occasion he saved a Mason who had already been bound to the stake and around whom the fagots had been piled. Still another case is that of Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Maynard. While stationed at West Point with Colonel Alden's regiment, Maynard had been sent out on a scouting expedition and was captured by Indians. His companions were bound to trees and burned to death, but Maynard having a sword was thought to be a prize for whom a ransom could be obtained, and accordingly was taken to Unadilla. He there gave to Brant the sign of distress and was ordered set free.* Another example relates to one of Brant's later campaigns in the Mohawk Valley. One day an Indian entered General Van Rensselaer's head-quarters, with an infant in his arms, and

* Brant MSS. in the Draper Collection.

bearing a message from Brant, containing these words:

> I send you by one of my runners the child which he will deliver that you may know that whatever others may do I do not make war upon women and children. I am sorry to say that I have those engaged with me in the service who are more savage than the savages themselves.

The literature of the Border Wars will be searched in vain for a defence of the conduct of Walter Butler* at Cherry Valley, or of his father, John Butler, at Wyoming. Brant included Walter among those who were "more savage than the savages themselves." But it is proper to permit him to speak for himself when no one speaks for him. Butler wrote to General Clinton in February, 1779:

> We deny any cruelties to have been committed at Wyoming, either by whites or by Indians; so far to the contrary, that not a man, woman, or child was hurt after the capitulation, or a woman or child before it, and none taken into captivity. Though should you call it deep inhumanity, the killing men in arms in the field we in that case plead guilty. The inhabitants killed at Cherry Valley do not lie at my door.

These statements are so at variance with well-authenticated facts that perhaps the charitable judgment to be passed on Butler is that he was not responsible either for his acts or his words.

Colonel Alden's regiment, or some portion of it, was stationed at Cherry Valley for the winter.

* Perhaps the truest estimate of Butler may be formed after reading Harold Frederic's In the Valley, a story of life on the frontier during the Border Wars, the original inspiration for which was derived from Horatio Seymour. In the Valley came straight from its author's heart.

McKendry, who remained with it, says that on January 18th he went to Newtown Martin and "bought two stacks of hay from James Bradshaw." Campbell describes the place as one of utter desolation. Cocks crowed from the tops of forest trees, and dogs howled through the abandoned fields.

In departing from the scene of their terrible revenge the invaders proceeded directly down Cherry Valley Creek, and during the first night slept out in the open air about two miles on their way. During the following day, the feeble Mrs. Cannon, one of the prisoners, was put to death. A contemporary newspaper account says Colonel Stacey and others of the Continental regiment "were stripped and driven naked before them." Besides the prisoners, the Indians had with them all the horses, cattle, and sheep of the settlement. Except Mrs. Campbell and her children, and Mrs. Moore and children, all the prisoners were eventually sent back to Cherry Valley, and the most of them from the first camping place.

Some of the Senecas invaded Sleeper's Mills and carried away everything they cared to possess except some money which Mrs. Sleeper adroitly concealed among old rags. Mr. Sleeper was away from home at the time, and his wife and ten children were rendered almost destitute. When Brant reached the place he said to Mrs. Sleeper, whose family were well known to him: "My God, are you alive? I expected to find all killed. Those Senecas I can't control. They would kill their friends for the sake of plunder. They would have killed many more in Cherry Valley if it had not been for me." He offered to pay her for the losses she had met with, but she declined to receive his money, on the ground that it had been taken from other settlers.

Brant and his companions remained in the upper valley for two weeks or more after the massacre. Among their prisoners was a man named Vrooman, whom Brant had formerly known. Wishing to assist Vrooman to escape, he sent him up the river on a pretence that he wanted him to get some birch bark. The man had the honesty, or stupidity, to return with the bark, much to the disgust of Brant, who was now under the necessity of taking him on the journey. At the mouth of the Charlotte, rafts and canoes were secured, and in them the remainder of the journey was made to Tioga Point, whence the whole company proceeded rapidly to Kanadesaga and thence to Niagara.

Soon after the party reached Kanadesaga, the Indians celebrated their victory in truly savage manner. The facts for an account of it have come down to us from Mrs. Campbell, who was a terrified witness of the scene. After a grand council, the warriors gathered around a great fire in the little park in the centre of the village, each with his face and parts of his body painted in black and white to a hideous extent. Songs were sung in praise of their exploits and those of their ancestors, "by degrees," says Stone, "working themselves up into a tempest of passion; whooping, yelling, and uttering every hideous cry; brandishing their knives and war clubs and throwing themselves into the most menacious attitudes in a manner terrific to the unpractised beholders." Meanwhile the prisoners were paraded, the scalps borne in triumph, and for every scalp was uttered the scalp yell, or death halloo, "the most terrific note which an Indian could raise." The festival closed with the killing of a white dog, the burning of the entrails, the roasting

of the carcass, and the eating of the same. In this manner was celebrated near the site of Geneva the most bloody occurrence in the annals of Otsego County.

Mrs. Campbell, while in captivity at Kanadesaga, was one day asked by an Indian why she wore a cap. She replied that it was a custom among the white people. "Come into my house," said he, "and I will give you a cap." She followed him, and after taking a cap from behind one of the beams, he remarked: "I got that cap in Cherry Valley. I took it from the head of a woman." Mrs. Campbell at once recognized it as having belonged to Jane Wells. It was still spotted with blood and showed the cut made by the tomahawk. Before her, therefore, stood the murderer of a friend whom she had known from infancy. Mrs. Campbell's grandson tells this story in his "Annals of Tryon County."

PART VI

The Sullivan Expedition

1779

I

General Clinton at Otsego Lake

1779

THESE events created a profound impression, accustomed though the country was to the worst scenes and calamities of war. General Gates's share in the responsibilities has already been indicated. It is made impressively clear in the Clinton correspondence.* After many appeals and warnings, Gates finally had written to General Stark on April 17, 1778, that "in case of any sudden irruption of the enemy," Stark was empowered to call upon such militiamen, "as will enable you to repel every hostile invasion"—directions which make all too evident Gates's failure to understand the methods that Indians employed in warfare. Such military action would, indeed, have been merely to lock the door after the horse had been stolen. What the frontier needed was men to guard it against attack, not men to be sent to its defence after destruction had been done and the enemy had taken to the woods.

James Duane had warned Congress early in 1778 that an irruption would occur. His letter at the time was duly transmitted to Gates, but Duane, on June 6th, complained bitterly to Governor Clinton that "to the misfortune of the country it has

* Vol. iii., passim.

not been attended to." Two weeks later Governor Clinton complained that Gates had required of him a large proportion of the militia to reinforce the army under his command. But Clinton had disregarded the order to the extent of sending one brigade to the frontier in spite of Gates. On August 10th he wrote to Duane that it was "to be regretted that the operations which were intended by Congress against the Indians have been hitherto so utterly neglected by the commanding officer of the Northern Department."

Some responsibility lies at the door of General Stark. When Colonel William Butler proposed to Stark the plan he had made for an expedition to Unadilla, Stark did not favor it, although it had received Governor Clinton's approval. Governor Clinton wrote that he was "more than ever convinced that offensive operations against the savages and Tories are absolutely necessary," and regretted "that the plan had not already been carried into execution, especially as (if I know the man) it must have been much better than any he can devise." On October 12th, when complaints continued to pour in from the frontier, the Governor wrote to Colonel Klock that, upon the first appearance of hostilities, he had applied to Washington for Continental troops and had secured two regiments. Moreover, he had ordered that one-fourth of the militia be stationed on the frontier. If these troops had been improperly placed, so that they failed to give the protection needed, it was "the fault of the commanding officer at Albany, and not in my power to correct."

A month before this the Governor had written to Washington complaining of Stark. He had re-

ceived two letters from Stark, "neither of any consequence." From these and from "common reports of the inhabitants," supported by complaints from a civil officer of the State, Clinton could only conclude that Stark had "paid a greater share of attention to the support and encouragement of the disaffected subject of this State on the Grants * in establishing their usurped government than to the defence of the Western frontier and protection of its inhabitants." Hand had afterward succeeded Stark, but he likewise had failed to provide any real defence.

The protection of the frontier was now to be confided to other men than Gates or Stark or Hand. It was decided that the general government must strike a blow that would crush out completely the warlike spirit on the frontier. But how terribly had the frontier suffered in order to teach that lesson, and what warnings had not been given? While this correspondence had been going on, the battle of Cobleskill had occurred. Springfield and German Flatts had been burned. Wyoming and Cherry Valley had been visited by massacre.

In the spring of 1779 an act was passed by the Legislature providing for 1,000 men for purposes of defence, these men to continue in service until the following January and to be allowed the same pay and rations as the Continental army. But the Continental Congress, under the approval of Washington, decided to make a national campaign, and to Washington was given the direction of it. It was planned to consist of two divisions, one under General Sullivan, which was to cross from Easton

* What were known as the New Hampshire Grants, concerning which for many years there has been much bitter contest between New York and the Green Mountain boys, now temporarily in suspense owing to the war with England.

to the Susquehanna, and thence ascend the river to Tioga Point, while the other, under General James Clinton, now in command at Albany and a brother of the Governor, was to proceed up the Mohawk to Canajoharie, crossing to Otsego Lake, and going thence down the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where the two expeditions were to unite in a combined attack on the Indian settlements in Western New York.

Of the men raised by New York, only 150 were added to General Clinton's force, which in all comprised about 1,800 men,* with three months' provisions and 220 boats.† From Albany General Clinton gave orders that the boats should meet him at Schenectady and that 300 or 400 horses should be ready at Canajoharie "to transport the boats and stores across the carrying place to Lake Otsego, the place of embarkation." On arrival at Canajoharie the brigade went into camp. Here were tried by court-martial as spies Lieutenant Henry Hare and Sergeant Newberry, who were convicted and hanged. They had wives and children who begged for their

* Some of the journals of the expedition say 1,500 men, some 1,800, and some 2,000.

† The brigade was composed of detachments from the Third New York regiment, of which Peter Gansevoort was colonel, Marinus Willett, lieutenant-colonel, and Leonard Bleecker one of the captains; the Fourth New York, of which Frederick Weissenfels was lieutenant-colonel, and Rudolphus van Hovenburg one of the lieutenants; the Fifth New York, of which Lewis Dubois was colonel; the Fourth Pennsylvania, of which William Butler was lieutenant-colonel, Erkuries Beatty a lieutenant, and William Gray one of the captains; the Sixth Massachusetts (Colonel Alden's), of which Daniel Whiting was the major commanding, William McKendry a lieutenant, and Benjamin Warren a captain; one or two companies of artillery, of which Thomas Machin was captain, and a volunteer corps under Colonel John Harper. Machin was employed during the war as an engineer in the construction of the historic chain that was stretched across the Hudson to prevent the British from ascending the stream beyond West Point. He afterward coined money for the several States in a workshop five miles back of Newburg.

lives in vain. Newberry had been an "active participant in the massacre of Cherry Valley," where, with a hatchet, he had killed a child ten or twelve years old. When the Erie Canal was built, nearly fifty years later, his bones and those of a man named Titus, who had been shot as a deserter, were thrown out by the workmen.

On June 17th Major Whiting, at Cherry Valley, received orders to proceed to Otsego Lake with the regiment of the late Colonel Alden. He set out on the following day, encamping that night in Springfield. Here, says McKendry, Whiting "ordered a fatiguing party on to mend the roads toward the lake," and on the following day the regiment itself marched to the lake. Of Clinton's coming from Canajoharie, Lieutenant Van Hovenburg, in his journal, says that on June 16th his regiment, then at Canajoharie, "marched about five miles on the Cherry Valley road and encamped there that night." On the following day they marched four miles, and on the 19th "escorted stores to Springfield," while the rifle corps went to escort the stores to Lake Otsego. On the 24th McKendry says "boats and provisions arrive at this lake very fast, 500 wagons going very steady." *

* It is obvious from these contemporary records that General Clinton did not open any new road from the Mohawk to Lake Otsego, as several writers have said, among them Cooper, Campbell, and Gould. "After ascending the Mohawk as far as Fort Plain," says Cooper, "the brigade cut a road through the forest to the head of Lake Otsego, whither it transported its boats." Campbell described the road as constructed "from Canajoharie to the head of Otsego Lake, distant twenty miles," and says its opening was "effected with great labor." Gould followed these statements. The obvious fact is that General Clinton employed the old road to Cherry Valley from the Mohawk and other roads near the lake constructed many years before the war. The one still known as the Continental road, and leading to the lake near the mouth of Shadow Brook in Hyde Bay, was doubtless among those which were mended by the fatiguing party sent out by Major Whiting.

While the brigade lay at the head of the lake, David Elerson, of Colonel Butler's regiment, met with a thrilling adventure described by Stone. He wandered off one day to an old clearing a few miles distant, when suddenly ten or twelve Indians appeared and sought to take him captive. As he fled, tomahawks were hurled after him, one of them wounding his arm. For hours he was pursued through the forest; once he was wounded and once he killed an Indian. Finally he hid himself in the hollow trunk of a hemlock-tree, and spent two days there without food. On emerging he found that he had lost the points of the compass, but he took what seemed the most promising course, to find himself at last in Cobleskill, distant twenty-five miles from the lake.

At the outlet of the lake General Clinton met with a serious obstacle to his progress. The river was too shallow and narrow to permit the boats to pass out, and for some distance down was filled with flood-wood and fallen trees. As soon as the regiment from Cherry Valley had reached Hyde Bay, "a party of men," says McKendry, writing on June 21st, "was ordered by Colonel Butler to the foot of the lake to dam the same, that the water might be raised to carry the boats down the Susquehanna River. Captain Warren commanded the party." By this dam the surface of the lake was raised about three feet, according to one account, about one foot, according to another, and "at least two," according to General Clinton. Some of the logs used in building the dam were still in their places fifty years later. Simms records certain traditions of the country that, in order further to increase the flow of water, a party was sent to open a

beaver dam which held the waters of Schuyler's Lake. "This invasion of private property under a plea of public necessity," remarks Hough in his notes to Bleeker's book, "was resented by the beavers, who, as soon as the party had gone, set themselves at work to repair the dam in the night, and before morning had restored it complete." After that experience a guard was "stationed to protect the point against further molestation."

The entire brigade had reached the site of Cooperstown by July 5th. One regiment went overland by way of Cherry Valley, the others all by water. Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty,* in his journal, says a part of the expedition encamped "on the site of Croghan's house" and "found a very fine chest containing carpenter's tools, books, papers, etc., concealed in a thicket, and covered with bark," which was supposed to be the property of Croghan, "who formerly lived here, but is gone to the enemy." General Clinton himself arrived on July 2d, when he was glad to inform the Governor that he believed such a quantity of stores and baggage "had never before been transported over so bad a road in so short a time and with less accidents."

The brigade remained here until August 8th, a period of four weeks, awaiting orders from General Sullivan. On July 4th the third anniversary of Independence was celebrated, the General "being pleased to order that all troops under his command should draw a gill of rum per man, extraordinary, in memory of that happy event." The Rev. John

* Beatty, or Beattie, had taken part in the battles of Long Island, Germantown, and Monmouth, and was at Valley Forge and the surrender of Cornwallis. His father was a clergyman, who got the singular name Erkuries from the Greek, in which tongue it signifies "from the Lord."

Gano, a Baptist clergyman from New York City, the chaplain of the brigade, preached from the text, "This day shall be a memorial unto you throughout your generation." Three men were put on trial for desertion, convicted, and sentenced to be shot. Two of them were afterward pardoned, but the third, Anthony Dunnavan, who had previously deserted from the British army, and had advised the two other men, both younger than he, to desert with him from General Clinton's brigade, was shot at a place on the west side of the outlet near the lake. General Clinton said his conduct sufficiently showed that he was "unfit to serve either his king or his country." On the arrival of James Deane,* on July 5th, with thirty-five friendly Oneidas, who came to "apologize for the absence of their brethren," due to a threatened invasion of their country from Canada, the General requested the soldiers to be careful "not to insult the Indians who are in camp, nor crowd about them." On July 29th great joy prevailed on receipt of news that Anthony Wayne had made his successful assault on Stony Point.

* So printed in The Order Book of Captain Bleeker, but apparently an error for James Duane, the Indian commissioner.

II

Brant's Return and the Battle of Minisink

1779

BEFORE narrating the journey of General Clinton from Otsego Lake to Tioga Point, it is necessary to revert to the doings of Brant and the Indians during the spring and early summer of the same year. At Niagara, before the winter ended, Brant had in vain sought to win over the Oneidas and Tuscaroras for a descent upon the Mohawk Valley. In February some Oneidas brought news to Tryon County of his projected expedition, the main part of which Brant was himself to lead to the Mohawk, while another part was to go down the Unadilla River and proceed thence to the Schoharie settlements. Governor Clinton wrote to the New York delegates in Congress of his helpless condition, and expressing fears lest the Hudson River "become our western boundary."

General Clinton, then in command at Albany, determined to send Colonel Van Schaick to Fort Schuyler at once, and thence westward to Onondaga. With 558 men Van Schaick set out on April 17th, and wrought great destruction at the Council House. Proceeding westward by way of Oneida Lake, he descended upon the Indian villages lying south of it. "We took thirty-eight Indians and one white prisoner," says Captain Machin, in his journal, "and killed twelve Indians. The whole of their settlement,

consisting of about fifty houses, with a quantity of corn and every other kind of stock, was destroyed," while about 100 guns, some of which were rifles, were among the plunder, "the whole of which, after the men had loaded with as much as they could carry, was destroyed, with a considerable quantity of ammunition." Many Indians escaped "by a precipitate flight through the woods." Not a man in the command was killed or wounded.

While this expedition was in the Onondaga country, parties of Indians were making attacks on the frontier. Near the middle of April a band of forty descended upon Lackawaxen and burned the settlement, besides other houses in that part of the Delaware Valley. Meanwhile sixty Indians appeared on the Mohawk; one party captured two prisoners in Schoharie; another killed two persons near Stone Arabia; another took five scalps at Fort Dayton, while another made two prisoners near Fort Plank. General Clinton himself now hastened up the valley and wrote to his brother that but for the appearance of his troops, he believed Schenectady "would have become the frontier of the State." *

About June 1st a party of six Oghwaga Indians reached the old settlement now called Sharon Center, and took two prisoners to Oghwaga. Of this incident, McKendry, writing on June 1st, at Cherry Valley, says:

This day was informed, not many days agone six Indians took two men prisoners from Turlough † (12 miles from Fort Alden) [Cherry Valley], carried them as far as Ocquaugo, where two of the Indians left the party to go on to in-

* Clinton Papers, vol. iv.

† Also written Torlock and Durlagh, and afterward named Sharon Center.

form their brothers of their success; when the four that were left got asleep, the two prisoners took their hatchets and killed two of the Indians; the other two awoke, and started; the white men, being too many for them, wounded them both and the two Indians fled. The two late prisoners took the Indians' arms of the dead and those that had fled with only their lives, and made their escape. The Indians soon were alarmed in that quarter, and came to the ground, set the woods all on fire, so that they might discover their tracks, that had made their escape, but to no purpose; the two late English prisoners escaped clear. I have had the pleasure since to see the man that killed the two Indians. It was Mr. Sawyer.

On June 18th news was received that 450 regular troops, 100 Tories, and 30 Indians had been sent from Montreal to reinforce those Indians, already in the country, against whom the Sullivan expedition had been sent. They had collected at Buck, or Carleton, Island, near the western end of the St. Lawrence, where they had four large lake vessels, and two others were ready for launching.* On June 25th it was learned that a force of 300 Indians and a few Tories, under Brant, had left Cayuga for the Susquehanna, where they intended to hang about General Clinton's line of march, and harass his movements down to Tioga Point, near which, at Newtown, they intended to make a stand.

Thus, with the opening of the summer, Brant at Oghwaga, or Unadilla, was awaiting the coming of General Clinton from the lake. He found the valley a difficult place to live in, after the destruction done by Colonel Butler in the previous autumn, and it became necessary to penetrate to more prosperous settlements in order to find food. The most

* Clinton Papers, vol. iv.

important of his doings was the invasion of Minisink,* which the departure of Count Pulaski for South Carolina, in the previous February, had left wholly unprotected. After waiting a month for General Clinton to move, he set out from Oghwaga by way of the trail to Cookoze and thence followed the Delaware down to the ancient settlement in the Neversink Valley below Port Jervis. He had with him sixty Indians, and twenty-seven Tories disguised as Indians. Surprising the settlement, he burned ten houses and twelve barns, besides two mills and a fort; drove away the cattle, took other booty, killed four men, and captured three prisoners. Brant's letter to Colonel Bolton,† written from Oghwaga on July 29th, after his return, describes as follows the work he did at the settlement:

I beg leave to acquaint you that I arrived here last night from Minisink, and was a good deal disappointed that I could not get into that place at the time I wished to do—a little before day; instead of which I did not arrive till noon, when all the cattle was in the woods, so that we could get but a few of them. We have burned all the settlement called Minisink, one fort excepted, round which we lay before about an hour, and had one man killed and one wounded. We destroyed several small stockaded forts, and took four scalps and three prisoners, but did not in the least injure women or children. The reason that we could not take

* Dr. Beauchamp gives the translation, Land from which the Water Has Gone; but suggests that it may be fanciful. Stone describes it as one of the most ancient of inland American towns. As early as July 22, 1669, it had had troubles with Indians, having then suffered a visitation "the bloody horrors of which yet live in the traditions of the neighborhood."

† Bolton was the British commander at Fort Niagara. In October, 1780, he sailed from that place in a new vessel called the Ontario. About midnight, in a violent storm, when near one of the islands at the entrance to the St. Lawrence, the ship was wrecked. Every soul on board, including Bolton, and numbering about 120, was lost.

more of them was owing to the many forts about the place, into which they were always ready to run like ground hogs.*

Brant remained at Minisink over night, and at eight o'clock on the following day, July 22d, began his retreat up the Delaware. He had reached a point near Lackawaxen,† and was preparing to cross the stream on his way to the Susquehanna Valley, when a body of 149 men, comprising the militia of the Minisink region, including Goshen, overtook him, and a memorable engagement, heretofore often referred to as a massacre, took place. That it was not properly a massacre, has already been pointed out by Mr. Nanny, who based his account of the battle on Brant's unpublished letter to Colonel Bolton, quoted above, which proceeds to say :

I left this place [Minisink] about 8 o'clock the next day, and marched fifteen miles. There are two roads—one through the woods, the other alongside the river. We were coming up this road next morning, and I sent two men to examine the other, the only way that the rebels could come to attack us. These men found the enemy's path not far from our camp, and discovered that they had got before to lay in ambush. The two rascals were afraid when they saw the path, and did not return to inform us, so that the rebels had fair play at us. They fired on the front of our people when crossing the river. I was then about four hundred yards in the rear. As soon as the firing began, I immediately marched up a hill in their rear with forty men, and came round on their backs. The rest of my men were all scattered on the other side. However, the rebels soon retreated, and I pursued them until they

* Brant's letter is among the Sparks Manuscripts at Harvard.

† For this word, Dr. Beauchamp gives the translation, Forks of the Road.

stopped upon a rocky hill, round which we were employed, and very busy, near four hours. We have taken forty-odd scalps and one prisoner. I suppose the enemy have lost near half of their men and most of their officers. They all belonged to the militia, and were about 150 in number.

Stone, commenting on the censure of Brant which this battle called forth, says Brant always maintained that his conduct " had been the subject of unjust reproach," and makes the following statement in his behalf:

Having obtained the supplies he needed, his own object was accomplished. Brant also stated that on the near approach of the Americans, he rose and, presenting himself openly and fairly to their view, addressed himself to their commanding officer, and demanded their surrender, promising at the same time to treat them kindly as prisoners of war. He assured them frankly that his force in ambush was sufficient to overpower and destroy them; that then, before any blood had been shed, he could control his warriors, but should the battle commence, he could not answer for the consequences. But, he said, while he was thus parleying with them, he was fired upon and narrowly escaped being shot down, the ball piercing the outer fold of his belt. Immediately upon receiving the shot he retired and secreted himself among his warriors. The militia, emboldened by his disappearance, seeing no other enemy, and disbelieving what he had told them, rushed forward heedlessly until they were completely within his power.

Both sides in this engagement fought in the Indian manner—every man for himself, from behind rocks and trees. Among the slain were some of the best citizens of all the Minisink region. On that rocky hill-side, about one mile from Lackawaxen, their bones lay for more than forty years, practically

unburied. What remained of these bones were gathered up in 1822, and, followed by 12,000 people, received honorable burial in Goshen, where a monument now records their names, forty-four in number. After the battle, thirty-three women, members of the Presbyterian Church in Goshen, wore widows' garments. Brant buried his dead after the battle. Some of the bones of these Indians were uncovered at the time of digging the Delaware and Hudson Canal.

Brant's letter adds that on reaching Oghwaga he learned that General Sullivan "perhaps by this time may be at Shimong, where I have sent my party to remain till I join them." He himself was just setting out with eight men for the Mohawk River, "in order to discover the enemies' motions." General Clinton was still at the foot of Otsego Lake, with ten days longer to remain. Brant proceeded up the Unadilla River to the Mohawk, where he captured a man named John House. House became lame from marching, and the Indians prepared to kill him, but Brant ordered that he be released on a promise of neutrality. One of General Clinton's scouts afterward found House, and the day before the departure from the lake, brought him into camp. House had particulars of the threatened invasion from Canada by way of Buck Island. Fort Schuyler was to be attacked.

Another incident of the same weeks relates to Job Stiles, who, with a companion, made a cross-country journey as messenger from General Sullivan to General Clinton. Fearing to pass up the Susquehanna beyond the mouth of the Chenango, they turned their course up to the forks of the Chenango, and thence went across the wilderness to the lake.

Wilkinson says they were two weeks in making this journey, and, owing to the heavy rains, suffered much from exposure. Each had a copy of the message, concealed in a handkerchief, in one of his armpits.

III

General Clinton's Descent of the Susquehanna

1779

GENERAL CLINTON'S start for Tioga Point was made on a Monday, Mr. Gano having preached on Sunday from the text, "Being ready to depart on the morrow." Steps for the departure were taken on Sunday after the services closed, when, as Mr. Gano has described the scene, "the general rose up and ordered each captain to appoint a certain number of men out of his company to draw the boats from the lake and string them along the Susquehanna below the dam, and load them that they might be ready to depart the next morning." After the dam had been opened several hours, the swell occasioned in the river "served to carry the boats over the shoals and flats, which would have been impossible otherwise."

The season had been in want of rain and "it was therefore matter of great astonishment to the inhabitants down the river for above a hundred miles what could have occasioned such a freshet in the river." Stone says the valley was "wild and totally uninhabited except by scattered families of Indians, and here and there by some few of the more adventurous white settlers in the neighborhood of Unadilla." These latter were Tories. Stone adds that the sudden swelling of the river, the flood being large even down to Oghwaga, "bearing upon its surge a

flotilla of more than two hundred vessels, through a region of primitive forests and upon a stream that had never before wafted upon its bosom any craft of greater burden than a bark canoe,* was a spectacle which might well appal the untutored inhabitants of the region thus invaded." It has even been said that this rise in the water was great enough to cause the Chemung River at Tioga Point to reverse its course.

Mr. Gano says the soldiers marched on both sides of the river, except that the invalids were placed in the boats with the baggage and provisions. The light infantry and rifle corps under Colonel Butler formed an advance guard, and were to proceed, says Bleeker, as "discovering parties," and were to govern their march "so as not to quit sight of the front of the line of march if possible, and the woods will permit." A guard was to follow the rear line of the boats and, like the advance guard, was not to quit sight of the boats "unless by unavoidable circumstances, as swampy roads, etc." In the centre of the land line was to go the remainder of the land force with all the horses and cattle, the marching being "in two columns, or Indian files, wherever the roads will not permit it otherwise, with the cattle betwixt the columns." Each regiment was to have its due proportion of boats, and in each boat were to go three men. An elaborate system of signals was established to meet emergencies such as the front line going so fast that the rear boats would be lost sight of. Full instructions were issued for action in case an enemy appeared.

* The trader's "battoe" had been in these waters for more than fifty years, and pioneers had traversed them in the same kind of boats for at least ten years.



James Winston B. Gen.l

On August 9th the army reached Camp Demesses, sixteen miles from the lake, and on August 10th "Jochum's farm," * twenty miles by land from the lake. From this farm the General wrote to his brother that "the troops have advanced thus far without the least accident, in perfect health and high spirits." The most distressing parts of the river had been passed, "so I expect to arrive at Anaquegha the 15th." On August 11th the army was at Ogden's farm, "36 miles from the lake," and on August 12th "at Unondila, 52 miles from the lake." These distances are many miles in excess of the distances by present roads. They gave reckonings based apparently on the winding river's course.

On leaving camp at Ogden's farm it was ordered that the boats be "started three abreast and the whole at a close distance," the river by this time having become broad enough to admit of doing so. Here it was ordered that "all the troops receive one gill of rum and each officer one quart." Another day brought the expedition past the site of Unadilla village and into camp on the Sidney side of the Susquehanna, the river being crossed at nightfall from the ruins of the Unadilla settlement. Lieutenant Van Hovenburg describes as follows the first stages of the journey:

Camp Lake Otsego, Aug. 9. The army under command of Gen. Clinton struck camp and loaded our baggage on board the batteau and proceeded down the Susquehanna river as far as Burris farm. The troops † marched, all except three men to each boat; we had 250 boats and quar-

* Van Valkenburgh's.

† The Camp Demesses of Bleeker's Order Book. Elsewhere in the journals written Burrows. Lieutenant McKendry calls the place "Mr. Cully's farm," referring to Matthew Cully, the Cherry Valley man, who settled there.

tered them that night and remained there the greater part of the next day on account of the rain, which is 15 miles.

Burris Farm, Aug. 10. Decamped at about three p. m., and loaded our baggage and proceeded on our march about 5 miles, to Joachim Valkenburgh place and encamped there that night—ratel snakes plenty, very good soil.

Bleeker calls this place "Camp Jachim's farm," and General Clinton writes "Camp Jacum's farm," while Lieutenant Beatty describes it as "Jorkam's," and Lieutenant McKendry as "Yokeum's." In General Clinton's letter, written from this camp on August 10th, he refers to the farm as "20 miles by land from Lake Otsego and five miles above the Adenquetangay Branch," which identifies the farm as land above Colliers. The Gray map places "Youchem's" just north of the mouth of Schenevus Creek. It lay on the east side of the Susquehanna:

Susquehanna river, Valkenburgh place, Aug. 11. Decamped and loaded our baggage and proceeded on our march as far as two miles below an Indian place called Otago which was completed twenty miles.

Otago, Aug. 12. We decamped at about five in the morning and proceeded on our march as far as Unedelly, and encamped on the south side of the river, and most extraordinary good land and most beautiful situation.

Unedelly, Aug. 13. We decamped in the morning early and marched out at 5 o'clock as far as a beautiful island called Gunna Gunta, and encamped there, which was about 12 miles. There were apples plenty at this place.

Beatty's account of the journey down to Oghwaga contains the following passages:

Aug. 10. Marched at 3 o'clock and went five miles, to Yokams, where we encamped; the men in the boats encamped on the farm, which lies on the east side of the river, and the remainder on the side opposite.

Wednesday, 11. Marched 4 this morning, sunrise, and proceeded on 14 miles down the river, where we encamped on a small farm; passed several small farms to-day with very poor houses on them, and some none. The riflemen in front saw fresh Indian tracks to-day in the path and found a knife at one of their fires. To-day we crossed a large creek called Otego and passed several old Indian encampments where they had encamped when they were going to destroy Cherry Valley, or returning. Likewise we passed one of their encampments yesterday—we encamped to-night at Ogden's farm, and very bad encamping ground.

Thursday, 12. Proceeded down the west side of the river as usual; 12 miles came to a small Scotch settlement called Albout * on the other side of the river, five miles from Unadilla, which we burnt; but the people had gone to the enemy this last spring; went on to Unadilla; crossed the river to the east side and encamped; the river was at middle deep where we waded it. The settlement was destroyed by our detachment last fall, excepting one house which belonged to one Glasford, who went to the enemy this spring. His house was immediately burnt, when we came to the ground to-day. We passed several old Indian encampments where they encamped when they destroyed Cherry Valley; the road middling hilly.

Friday, 13. This morning very foggy and a great deal of dew. Marched at 6 o'clock; went 2 miles, wading the river at three feet deep; proceeded on to Conehunto, a small Indian town that was, but was destroyed by our detachment last fall. It is fourteen miles from Unadilla. A little below this town there are three or four islands † in the river where the Indians raised their corn; on one of these islands our troops encamped with the boats and cattle. The light infantry went two miles from Conehunto, where they encamped a little after three o'clock, in the woods. Middle good road to-day.

* The settlement at the mouth of the Ouleout.

† One of these islands is the Stowell, or Chamberlain, Island of later times, near Afton.

Saturday 14. Marched this morning at 8 o'clock; very hilly road for the right flank; arrived at the ford two miles from Oghwaga about 2 o'clock, which is eight miles from where we started. The ford being too deep to wade, crossed in our boats to the east side; went over a high hill * and got to Oghwaga at three o'clock, when we encamped on very pretty ground. This town was one of the neatest of the Indians living on the Susquehanna. It was built on the east side of the river, with good log houses, with stone chimneys and glass windows. It likewise had a church and burying ground and a great number of apple trees, and we likewise saw the ruins of an old fort, which formerly was here for many years.

Of Oghwaga, McKendry says: "It lay pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and on an island in the centre of the ruins of about 60 houses, which appear by the cellars and walls that it was a fine settlement before it was destroyed, considering that they were Indians. One English family lived with them." Beyond Oghwaga several Indian towns were destroyed before a junction with Sullivan was made at Tioga Point—Ingaren having five or six houses, a tannery, fields of corn and potatoes; Shawhiangto, with ten or twelve houses; Otseningo, with twenty houses; Chenang, and Owego, with several, and Choconut † with fifty.

From Tioga Point General Sullivan sent forward 1,000 men to meet General Clinton's force, of whose approach word had reached him. The meeting of the two armies took place at Union, and hence the name. General Clinton's arrival at Tioga Point was celebrated with salvos of artillery, much

* Still known as Oghwaga Hill. Opposite this eminence lies the village of Ouaquaga, in the town of Colesville.

† Place of Tamaracks was the meaning Cusick gave to Dr. Beauchamp.

music and cheers. Especially welcome was a large store of provisions which he brought with him. When Washington, then at Newburg, learned that Clinton had departed for Otsego Lake, he became anxious lest the delay involved in transporting his provisions should enable the Indians to rally all their strength and successfully oppose him. Washington had understood that Clinton would take such supplies only as would be needed for a rapid march. But the event proved how fortunate had been General Clinton's action. General Sullivan was delayed in reaching Wyoming and had written to General Clinton that "the commissaries have deceived us in every article." In case Clinton were depending upon him "we must all starve together."

IV

Iroquois Civilization Overturned

1779

NOW was to follow that campaign of ruthless destruction in Western and Central New York which has been likened to Sherman's march to the sea, although in the difficulties presented in the country which Sullivan traversed there was a great contrast rather than a parallel. From Tioga Point the combined force, numbering about 3,200 men, moved along the north bank of the Chemung River, reaching the old Indian town of Chemung * on August 27th.

Brant meanwhile had retreated from the Mohawk in time to join the main body of the Indians and Tories and become a leader at the approaching battle of Newtown, where, before he arrived, the Indians and Tories, with whom were Colonel John Butler, Sir John Johnson, Walter Butler, and Captain McDonald, had thrown up embankments more than half a mile long, with the pits carefully concealed by newly cut trees. On August 19th, the day Clinton reached Owego, Brant wrote the following letter from "Shimong," little conscious that, in the Newtown fight, and the events that followed, the People of the Long House would meet such overwhelming disaster:

I am deeply afflicted. John Tayojaronsere, my trusty chief, is dead. He died eight days after he was wounded.

* The meaning of this word is Big Horn.

Five met the same fate. I am very much troubled by the event, because he was of so much assistance to me. I destroyed Onawatoge a few days afterward. We were carrying off two prisoners. We were overtaken and I was wounded in the foot with buck shot, but it is of small consequence. I am almost well.

We are in daily expectation of a battle which we think will be a severe one. We expect to number about 700 to-day. We do not quite know the number of the Bostonians already stationed about eight miles from here. We think there are 2,000 beside those at Otsego, represented to consist of two regiments. This is why there will be a battle either to-morrow or the day after. Then we shall begin to know what is to become of the People of the Long House.

Our minds have not changed. We are determined to fight the Bostonians. Of course their intention is to exterminate the People of the Long House. The seven nations will continue to kill and devastate the whole length of the river we formerly resided on. I greet your wife. I hope she is still well and that you yourself may also be well.*

On August 29th was fought the battle of Newtown on a hillside overlooking the river near which on fertile bottom lands were growing from 150 to 200 acres of corn, now almost ready to be gathered. With the enemy waiting behind their embankments, fire was opened by Sullivan's artillery—six three-pounders and two Howitzers, carrying five-and-a-half-inch shells—a form of warfare especially terrible to an Indian, for whom the noise of cannon had exceptional horrors. Of Brant's conduct on this field much in laudation has been written, and perhaps nothing finer than the following by Mr. Craft:

Such was the commanding presence of the great Indian captain and such the degree of confidence he inspired

* Addressed to Colonel Daniel Claus. The original is in the Draper collection of Brant Manuscripts.

that his undisciplined warriors stood their ground like veterans for more than half an hour as the shot went crashing through the tree tops or ploughing up the earth under their feet and shells went screeching over their heads or bursting in their ranks, while high above the roar of the artillery and the rattle of small arms could be heard the voice of Brant, encouraging his men for the conflict, and over the heads of all his crested plume could be seen waving where the contest was likely to be most sharp.

For several hours this battle in the primeval forest lasted, the Indians fighting from behind rocks, bushes, and trees, their yells and warwhoops drowned by the noise of cannon. At last they were forced from behind their fortifications, but, under Brant's skilful leadership, they made a hasty retreat, and were saved from destruction. His men "darted from tree to tree, with the agility of panthers," and at a fording-place up the river, crossed to the other side with such haste that they left behind their packs, tomahawks, and scalping-knives. Pursued for two miles, they lost eight men, killed. The bodies of fourteen others were afterward found partly buried. Their total loss included eleven more. The Americans lost five or six men, and had forty or fifty wounded.

Among the Indian towns which the expedition now entered and laid in ruins, were these: Two miles above Newtown, one with eight houses; farther on, Kanawaholla * with twenty; Catharinetown with thirty or forty good houses, fine cornfields, horses, cows, hogs, etc.; Kendaia with twenty houses of hewn logs, some of them painted, peach-trees and an apple orchard of sixty trees; Kanadesaga † with

* Head on a Pole, is the meaning Dr. Beauchamp gives.
† New Settlement is the accepted meaning.

fifty houses, and thirty others near it, orchards and cornfields, the village being built around a square in which trees were growing; Skoiyase * with eighteen houses, fields of corn and trees well laden with apples, this town being destroyed by detachments under Colonel John Harper; Shenanwaga with twenty houses, orchards, cornfields fenced in, stacks of hay, hogs, and fowls; Kanandaigua † with twenty-three "elegant houses, some framed, others log, but large and new"; Honeoye with twenty houses; Kanaghsaws with eighteen houses; Gathtsewarohare with twenty-five houses, mostly new, and cornfield which it took 2,000 men six hours to destroy; Little Beard's Town, the great Seneca Castle, having 128 houses, mostly "large and elegant, surrounded by about 200 acres of growing corn as well as by gardens in which all kinds of vegetables were growing, from 15,000 to 20,000 bushels of corn being burned with the buildings," and finally six or seven villages along the shores of Cayuga Lake, destroyed by a detachment under Colonel William Butler.

One of these Cayuga towns was Chonobote where were found peach-trees numbering 1,500, all of which were cut down. At Kanadesaga, besides apple and peach trees, there were mulberry-trees, and the growing vegetables were onions, peas, beans, squashes, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots, and parsnips. General Clinton describes the corn as "the finest I have ever seen." One of the officers saw ears twenty inches long. Under the white man, fifteen years later, this Genesee country was to acquire new and lasting fame for extraordinary fertility.

* The word means Long Falls or Rapids in the River.
† Means Place Chosen for a Settlement.

Thus was all that garden land laid waste. "Corn, gathered and ungathered, to the amount of 160,000 bushels," says Stone, "shared the same fate; their fruit-trees were cut down, and the Indians were hunted like wild beasts, till neither house nor fruit-trees, nor field of corn, nor inhabitant, remained in the whole country." He adds, that in this expedition more towns were laid in ashes and a broader extent of country ruined than had ever before been the case on this continent.

Sullivan's rigorous measures have been severely criticised, but he had instructions from Congress to be severe. Washington's letter declared that "the immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements." The country was not to be "merely overrun, but destroyed." In a letter to Laurens in September of this year, Washington said: "The Indians, men, women and children, are flying before him [Sullivan] to Niagara, distant more than one hundred miles, in the utmost consternation, distress, and confusion, with the Butlers, Brant, and the others at their head."

After Newtown, Brant and Butler proceeded westward and northward, where reinforcements were secured, and another attempt to check the progress of Sullivan was determined upon. While the army lay near Little Beard's Town, Lieutenant Thomas Boyd with twenty-nine men, was sent out to make a reconnoissance. They were surprised by Brant, and fifteen of them were slain. One of these was Boyd himself, who died after the most frightful tortures had been inflicted. The full details are given by Stone, but I must forbear to repeat them. Brant was not responsible for this crowning atrocity. He was temporarily absent, and it has generally been

felt that Colonel John Butler is to be blamed for not restraining the ferocity of the Indians. Among those who escaped were Timothy Murphy, the famous scout, and David Elerson.

When Sullivan finally departed from the country, the Indians returned to witness the desolate state of their ancestral homes—blackened ruins, with fields of corn and gardens overturned. Mary Jemison says there was not enough left to keep a child. Homeless now, in their own land, the Indians marched to Niagara, where, around the fort, the English built huts for them to pass the winter in. Owing to the severe cold, hunting became impossible that season; so that they were forced to live on salted food, which produced scurvy, and hundreds of them died.

PART VII

Last Years of the War

1780–1783

I

Schoharie and the Mohawk Laid Waste

1780

IN the work of the Sullivan expedition the gravest calamity in their recorded history had overwhelmed the Iroquois. Of their civilization, indeed, little remained save the Iroquois themselves. But they were not to submit in despair. In the ensuing years of the war, they descended again and again upon the white man's frontier, leaving it at last quite as desolate as their own land had become. In Oriskany had been begun the Border Wars, but in Sullivan's expedition new and deeper bitterness was infused into the heart and soul of the Indian. Appalling ruin at their hands was now to overwhelm the settlements. But the Indians alone were not to bring on this desolation. Substantial co-operation came from the British.

Henceforth, indeed, the main war-scenes were to be found in the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys. Little remained to be destroyed on the upper Susquehanna. That region had become a land of silence and desolation. Its houses were in ruins; its people had fled; its soil had been given up to Nature's wild growths. Guarded as the Mohawk still was at Fort Schuyler, the Susquehanna remained a highway, however, by which the Indians

and Tories could most safely reach the settlements lying north and east.

Sullivan had scarcely returned to the seaboard when complaints were made from the Mohawk Valley of Indians who "eat our provisions whilst they watch to cut our throats." Several persons had been murdered and scalped in October of this same year. On October 20th scouts brought word that Fort Schuyler was threatened. Sir John Johnson was said to be on his way with a thousand Indians, besides a large body of regular troops supplied with heavy cannon. While the regulars attacked the fort, the Indians were to ravage the Mohawk Valley.* Nothing came of this report in 1779, but in the following year it was amply confirmed.

The enemy did not even wait for spring to open before beginning the work of retaliation. In the month of February, when there was fine snow-shoe weather, a small force reached German Flatts, where one woman was killed and three were wounded. In March a party of thirty, also on snow-shoes, invaded a settlement north of Palatine, killed one person, made several prisoners, and burned some buildings. They were painted after the fashion of Indians, but were supposed to be Tories. Early in April, Indians were hovering about Fort Schuyler. Scouts were sent out to watch them in seven different places. Brant, himself, came on from Niagara and during the same month, with forty-three Indians and seven Tories, reached Harpersfield, where he surprised Captain Alexander Harper in a "sugar-bush."

Harper was approached as he was bending over to adjust his snow-shoes. When holding his tomahawk in the air above Harper's head, Brant discov-

*Clinton Manuscripts.

ered for the first time who the man before him was. "Ah, Captain Harper," said he, "is it thee? I am sorry to find thee here." "Why are you sorry, Captain Brant?" asked Harper. "Because I must kill thee," answered Brant. Harper remarked there was "no use in killing those who submitted peaceably." Brant then having had Harper bound as a prisoner, attacked the settlement at Harpersfield and burned it. Three men were killed and eight were made prisoners, the party proceeding across the hills to the head of the Delaware. From camp Harper wrote to his wife that Brant "uses me and all those taken along with me exceeding well." Brant had assured him that an exchange of prisoners could be "easily obtained," providing the Americans were willing to co-operate in the matter.

With other prisoners, Harper was taken to Niagara, where he spent many months in captivity. Patchin, in his narrative of the journey as given to Priest, says that "from this place [Cookoze] we crossed through the wilderness, over hills and mountains the most difficult to be conceived of, till we came to a place called Ochquago, on the Susquehanna River, which had been an Indian settlement before the war. Here they constructed several rafts out of old logs, which they fastened together with withes and poles passing crosswise, on which, after untying us, we were placed, themselves managing to steer." Aboard these rafts the party proceeded to Tioga Point and thence by land to Niagara.

While at Oghwaga Brant invaded the Ulster district. Houses were burned, farms plundered, and captives taken. Brant also sent out a detachment of eleven warriors to seize prisoners in Minisink. Five men were taken. At night, when the Indians were

asleep, one of the men freed his hands and feet of the cords that bound them and released his four companions. Seizing each a tomahawk they killed nine of the eleven Indians and wounded one, the survivor making good his escape. The Minisink men then returned to their homes. When the surviving Indian had joined the party of Brant and narrated this tale, Brant's men became mad with desire for revenge. Their knives and hatchets had been made ready for the slaughter of Harper and his companions when the surviving Indian, who was a chief, rushed upon the scene and stayed their hands. He declared that these white men had not killed the Indians and to murder innocent men would offend the Great Spirit. Stone lauds this conduct as "a noble action, worthy of the proudest era of chivalry," and regrets that "the name of this high-souled warrior is lost." That sentiments of this kind had been fostered by Brant there is no doubt. He wrote from the Delaware, on April 10th of this year, addressing his enemies:

> That your Bostonians (alias Americans) may be certified of my conduct towards all those whom I have captured in these parts, know that I have taken off with me but a small number. Many have I released. Neither were the weak and helpless subjected to death, for it is a shame to destroy those who are defenceless. This has been uniformly my conduct during the war. These being my sentiments you have exceedingly angered me by threatening or distressing those who may be considered as prisoners. Ye are (or once were) brave men. I shall certainly destroy without distinction, does the like conduct take place in future.*

A month later alarming intelligence came once more into the Mohawk valley. A messenger brought

* Brant MSS. in the Draper collection.

word that a vessel had sailed from Niagara with 100 men under Butler and a small number of regular troops. Brant had also sailed with 300 of his warriors. Both forces had landed at Oswego, where they were joined by 150 other men. It was said that Sir John Johnson was to attack his old home at Johnstown as well as Stone Arabia, and that Brant was to follow with an attack on Canajoharie. Another report was that troops to the amount of 5,000, composed of Indians, regulars, and Tories, would attack Fort Schuyler. South, from Canada, by way of Lake Champlain, came Sir John in May of this year with 500 men, of whom 200 were Indians and Tories, the others British troops, and Sir John's Royal Greens.

Sir John's destination was the Mohawk region in which he had spent his early life, and he was ultimately to visit the home of his father at Johnstown. At Tribes Hill houses were plundered and some of them burned. The home of Colonel Vissher was then attacked, three brothers being scalped and the house burned. For twelve or thirteen miles the valley was traversed, forty prisoners being taken. Stone says, every building not owned by a loyalist was burned, sheep and cattle were killed and horses taken away for the use of the army. Nine old men, four of them being upward of eighty, were slain, and in Caughnawaga the only building that escaped destruction was the church.

Sir John, on arriving at his father's home, made the house his head-quarters, the prisoners being guarded in an open field. He had not visited this home since his abrupt departure in 1776, four years before. Stone describes how he caused to be dug up the family silver, which had been buried in the

cellar. It filled two barrels and was divided among forty of his soldiers, who carried it back to Montreal. Meanwhile, militiamen led by Colonel Harper, who from Fort Hunter had witnessed the burning of Caughnawaga, and by Colonel Volkert Veeder arrived, but as Tories had joined Sir John until his forces numbered 700 or 1,000 men, or twice their own, they were unable to engage him. Governor Clinton, hearing of the invasion, sent a force to intercept Sir John on his return by way of Lake Champlain, but Sir John eluded his pursuers and made his way safely back to Canada.

The arrival of Butler and Brant on the south side of the river was not long delayed. By the middle of May they had appeared on the upper Mohawk. On June 10th a party of twenty Indians burned houses and took prisoners at German Flatts. Another party invaded Schoharie and conveyed several prisoners down to Unadilla. By July 1st reports came from many settlements that Indians were hovering about them. Fort Schuyler was in distress for want of provisions. At the Schoharie forts, outside the local militia there were only eighty men to defend them.* Block-houses, meanwhile, had been erected for the protection of women and children. Farmers ploughed their fields and gathered their crops assembled in companies. They kept their rifles near at hand and sent out scouts to watch for the approach of the enemy.

Late in July 600 Indians and 200 white men, led by Brant and a British officer, appeared at Fort Schuyler and killed several horses. They cut off communication between the fort and German Flatts, and captured fifty-three prisoners. This movement

* Clinton MSS.

is understood to have been a feint. After Sir John's departure, Governor Clinton had sent General Gansevoort with a mass of stores to Fort Schuyler, and Brant caused it to be made known that he intended to take the Fort. This induced the sending forward of men for its defence from the lower valley, leaving that region unprotected. Brant meanwhile quietly slipped down the Unadilla River, and thus his approach to Canajoharie by the Susquehanna route was in danger of no opposition.

Early in the year Brant had contemplated this invasion of his early home, he and Sir John being thus actuated by similar enterprises, but for some cause he had deferred it until midsummer. The attack on Canajoharie was finally made on August 2d. There were 450 Indians with him. He killed fourteen persons, burned nearly all the houses, captured fifty or sixty prisoners, took three hundred head of cattle, horses and pigs, and burned more than one hundred houses and barns, one church, one mill, two forts, and a quantity of farm tools. Colonel Clyde reported that all this happened "at a very unfortunate hour, when all the militia of the country was called up to Fort Schuyler to guard nine battoes about half loaded."

This destruction, combined with other work done by Brant during the expedition, resulted in the killing of twenty-four persons and the capture of seventy-three prisoners. The destruction of Canajoharie was over before militia arrived from Schenectady and Albany. Indians alone were in the expedition. Brant's route led him now to the head of the Delaware, where he wrote to one of the Schoharie officers:

I understand that my friend Hendrick Nuff and Cook is taken prisoners near at Esopus. I would be glad if you

would be so kind as to let those people know that took them not to use my friends too hard, for if they will use hard and hurt them, I will certainly pay for it, for we have several rebels in our hands makes me mention this, for it would be disagreeable to me to hurt my prisoners. Therefore I hope they will not force me.*

Adam Crysler, went to Vroomansland in August, under orders, he said, from Sir John Johnson "to proceed with a party of Oughquagos, etc., to Schoharie where I had a skirmish with the Rebels; took five scalps, two prisoners, and burned some houses and barns." After these disasters General TenBroeck wrote to Governor Clinton that "the most opulent parts of Tryon County, Stone Arabia excepted, had fallen beneath the invader."

* Clinton MSS

II

Sir John and Brant Return

AUGUST had not passed before word arrived of a new invasion. It was said that Sir John intended to strike Stone Arabia, and that 2,000 men were coming with him. Early in September sixty-five of the enemy attacked Fort Dayton, and small parties were hovering about elsewhere. Sir John's new enterprise was destined to become memorable. Primarily it was an expedition of British origin and has been thought to have been connected with Arnold's treason, that last attempt to secure control of the Hudson valley. Sir John, it has been understood, had knowledge of Arnold's purposes, Arnold having been in treasonable correspondence with the British for probably a year before his designs were discovered. By this invasion, at any rate, it was hoped that Sir John would attract a force away from West Point, making it more easy for the British to gain possession of the Hudson. He was already far advanced on his way when the treason of Arnold was laid bare in the capture of André at Tarrytown.

Another motive for the expedition was the demoralizing effects produced by the Sullivan expedition among British sympathizers in Tryon County. Serious doubts now began to possess them as to England's success. They were showing a disposition to unite with the patriot party. Some of them had

gone so far as to swear allegiance to Congress, fearing extermination if they did not do so. It was Sir John's hope that he might restore this lost confidence.

At Painted Post, or Tioga Point, were probably collected the Indian forces, now much enlarged in their numbers, and with the famous Seneca warrior called the Corn-Planter * co-operating with Brant. They marched thence to Unadilla and here, probably, were joined by the forces which Sir John had gathered and brought on by way of Buck Island, and thence by Oswego, Oneida Lake, and the Unadilla River. Hough remarks, that many of the men "were intimately acquainted with the topography of the country through which they were to pass, having formerly resided in the valley."

One estimate places the total number after the junction was made at 1,500, while another says it was 2,000. Governor Clinton reported to Washington that Sir John had 750 picked British troops, besides Brant's corps of Indians and Tories. Hearing of the approach of the expedition, the Tryon County committee reported that "it would be in the power of the enemy to destroy almost all the grain collected, besides the rest of the settlements yet standing." Colonel Harper was sent out to watch Sir John's approach, and Timothy Murphy proceeded as far as Unadilla with a scouting party under Sergeant Lloyd, among whom were B. C. Vrooman, William Leek, and Robert Hull.

From Unadilla the expedition proceeded into Schoharie by the well-worn route to the mouth of

* The Corn-Planter was a half-breed noted for his eloquence. At one time he was a rival of Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, whose gifts in public speaking won for him the name of Keeper-Awake.

the Charlotte and thence followed that stream to Summit Lake making camp on the south side.* Crossing the dividing line beyond the lake the expedition passed on to what is now Middleburgh, where were fifty local militiamen, and a garrison of 150 other state troops, possessed, however, of only a few rounds of powder for each man. About 500 men began the siege, which was stoutly resisted.† Meanwhile, the enemy plundered and burned the settlements.

Failing to subdue the fort the expedition began a desolating march down the Schoharie Valley, burning and otherwise destroying everything it found on the way. Horses and cattle were taken and nothing escaped the invaders except the homes and property of loyalists. Only two men were killed and one wounded at the fort, but the number of unprotected inhabitants killed is said to have reached 100. Schoharie had never seen finer fields of grain than those which Sir John destroyed. It was one of the most prosperous regions on the frontier. Few log houses remained there, good frame structures having supplanted the ruder dwellings of an earlier time. Arrived at Fort Hunter the desolating work

* The authority for this statement is William E. Roscoe, of Carlisle, who learned the facts from a man named Monk, son of a Tory who took part in the expedition.

† Of this Schoharie invasion, Stone relates the following incident: "One of the farmers on that day, while engaged with his boys in unloading a wagon of grain at the barn, hearing a shriek, looked about and saw a party of Indians and Tories between himself and the house. 'The enemy, my boys!' said the father, and sprang from the wagon, but in attempting to leap the fence, a rifle ball brought him dead upon the spot. The shriek had proceeded from his wife, who, in coming from the garden, had discovered the savages, and screamed to give the alarm. She was struck down by a tomahawk. Her little son, five years old, who had been playing about the wagon, run up to his mother in an agony of grief, as she lay weltering in blood, and was knocked on the head and left dead by the side of his parent. The two other boys were carried away into Canada, and did not return until after the war."

was continued. All that Brant had left of Caughnawaga was destroyed. The invaders then passed to the westward, spreading ruin in their path, until, says Stone, "both shores of the Mohawk were lighted up by the conflagration of everything combustible, while the panic-stricken inhabitants only escaped slaughter or captivity by flight."

Back from the river at Palatine stood the ancient settlement of Stone Arabia guarded by a small stockade. Militia were sent forward to protect it, and re-enforcements were to follow. But these did not come and the others were overpowered after forty or forty-five of them had been slain, including Colonel Brown, one of the bravest men on the frontier, who in the Burgoyne campaign had distinguished himself by liberating 100 American prisoners and making prisoners of nearly 300 of the enemy. The survivors took to flight, whereupon everything in that neighborhood fell a victim to the destroyer. Laden with plunder Sir John pushed on to Klock's Field, three miles to the west. Here ensued a battle, General Robert Van Rensselaer having come up the river with 1,500 men, a force superior to Sir John's. After a brief battle, the enemy closely pressed took to flight. Colonel Dubois wished to pursue them, but General Van Rensselaer ordered his forces to retire in order to find a better place for a bivouac, night being at hand.

This action on the general's part has been much condemned, as it was condemned at the time by his subordinates. Stone says it was learned from one of the prisoners that at the time the retreat was ordered Sir John was ready to capitulate. When morning dawned the enemy were nowhere in sight. General Van Rensselaer set out in pursuit. He

sent forward from Fort Herkimer a force to overtake Sir John and promised to follow himself, but this he failed to do. Meanwhile, another force, which he had ordered out from Fort Schuyler to oppose Sir John made an advance, but while engaged at dinner, was surprised by Brant and every man was captured—two captains, one lieutenant, eight non-commissioned officers, and forty-five privates. No obstacle impeding his flight, Sir John pushed on to the westward.*

On leaving the Mohawk Valley Sir John had crossed the head waters of the Unadilla River accompanied by Brant, who was suffering from a painful wound in the heel. Seeing an American officer among the prisoners, Brant, from sudden impulse, is said to have tomahawked him. On being remonstrated with he said he was sorry he had not controlled himself while in pain, but the heel felt better since he had done this deed.†

At Fort Plain one of Sir John's prisoners was John O'Bail (written also O'Beal, O'Ball, and Abeel), an old man, who in his youth had frequently lived among the Indians, and, by an Indian woman, had had a son who was the Corn-Planter. Just beyond Fort Plain, the Corn-Planter said to him: "If you

* It should be stated here that a Court of Inquiry into the conduct of General Van Rensselaer convened in March of the following year and exonerated the General. Among the Clinton MSS. are its findings, filling forty-eight folio pages. It unanimously gave the opinion that "the whole of Gen. Van Rensselaer's conduct both before and after, as well as in, the action of October 19th, was not only unexceptionable, but such as became a good, active, faithful, prudent, and spirited officer,—and that the public clamours to his prejudice on that account are without the least foundation."

† Weld's Travels in America. The reader will note that this incident is inconsistent with Brant's assertion that he had never killed more than one man in cold blood—the man whom he killed when he supposed the man had lied to him. The author has found no confirmation of Weld's story in other writings.

now choose to follow the fortunes of your yellow son, and to live with us people, I will cherish your old age with plenty of venison and you shall live easy ; but if it is your choice to return to your friends and live with your white children, I will send a party of my trusty young men to conduct you back in safety ; I respect you, my father." O'Bail decided to return to his white children.

Elsewhere on the frontier considerable alarm existed through the autumn of this year. An expedition had, indeed, come down from the north under Colonel Carleton and had burned Ballston. Saratoga and Stillwater expected to be attacked. St. Leger was known to be on Lake Champlain with a large force. An Oneida Indian, in December, brought word to the Mohawk Valley that, in the following year, Schenectady would be destroyed. There was much suffering that winter at Fort Schuyler. Food was scarce, and many of the garrison were so badly clothed that not more than twenty were fit to be sent out on foraging expeditions.

III

Colonel Willett Expels the Invaders

1781

THE year in which Cornwallis surrendered brought to the frontier drastic and successful measures for its defense. Colonel William Butler had, it is true, destroyed the two Indian head-quarters at Unadilla and Oghwaga, but he returned from the Susquehanna Valley as soon as that work was done, and six weeks later the savages and Tories poured into Cherry Valley, burned its houses and massacred its people. And so with General Sullivan. He overturned every sign of Indian civilization that he found in western New York, only to return whence he had come and to be followed by the two expeditions of 1780 that spread desolation throughout the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys.

In the early summer of 1781 there arrived in the Mohawk Valley a man whose presence meant stern and effective action. This was Colonel Marinus Willett, the only man in permanent command on the frontier during these Border Wars who could be said at any time to have become master of the territory committed to his charge. Under him were consolidated five New York regiments. After much urging he had been induced to leave the main army and take this command.

Colonel Willett, afterward a brigadier, was one of the bravest and most efficient officers of minor rank

who served in the Revolution. He was already a veteran of the French war, having won distinction in Abercrombie's expedition of 1758 against Fort Ticonderoga, and having been present at the capture of Fort Frontenac. He had been one of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty in New York City, and in June, 1775, had prevented the dispatch of arms from the New York arsenal to the British troops in Boston. Under Montgomery he went to Canada in 1775. At Fort Schuyler in 1777 he was second in command, and led the sally from the fort against St. Leger, that secured to the militia the final victory at Oriskany. He afterward served under Washington in New Jersey, and in 1779 was with Sullivan in western New York.

Before Colonel Willett arrived, there had been constant irruptions all through the spring and summer of 1781. In January scouts of Brant were at German Flatts, and in February and March at other places along the valley. Late in April the enemy was seen near Minisink. Finally, on April 26th, another descent by eighty men was made upon Cherry Valley, and in its way this, too, was a massacre. All the people of the place, except one man and four boys, were either murdered or captured. Fifteen of the Indians then descended upon Canajoharie, killed four persons and several children and burned houses, mills, and barns. The number killed at Cherry Valley was eight, and the prisoners taken away were fourteen.*

Meanwhile Schenectady was reported to be in danger. People in Albany were packing up their household goods preparing to depart, and the barracks at Fort Schuyler were burned. Fort Schuyler

* Statement of Andrew McFarlan in the Clinton MSS.



COLONEL MARINUS WILLETT

(From the frontispiece to "A Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett.")

had suffered severely that year from a flood. It was estimated that more than two-thirds of the works had been ruined, and that 500 or 600 men would be necessary to repair them. Fire now destroyed what remained. After the war, the fortress was rebuilt and the former name, Fort Stanwix, as already stated, was given to it again.

Tories were everywhere now increasing in numbers, and many inhabitants with Tory sympathies were giving food and shelter to the invaders. Suggestions came from the main army that the forces on the frontier should be removed, but these were firmly resisted. It was insisted instead that an expedition ought to go out to Buck Island. Washington was then maturing his plans with Rochambeau at Dobbs Ferry, intending to make his famous descent upon Cornwallis in the South and troops were wanted for that campaign.

So far from being able to take care of itself, the frontier was more defenceless than ever. When the war began, the enrolled militiamen in Tryon County numbered quite 2,500 men, but in the summer of 1781 the number liable to bear arms, according to Stone, did not exceed 800. This astonishing change was due in about equal proportions to three causes—men who had been killed, those who had fled, and those who had gone over to the enemy. In these circumstances blockhouses had been erected for the defense of women and children, each house holding from ten to fifty families. In 1781 there were twenty-four such structures between Schenectady and Fort Schuyler.

With the arrival at Canajoharie of Colonel Willett everyone in the Mohawk Valley took heart afresh. He soon ascertained that the settlement of

Torlock, lying northeast of Cherry Valley, was a conspicuous haunt of Tories, and proposed to eradicate them. He wrote to Governor Clinton asking if there would be any difficulty in securing their punishment; otherwise he was willing to assume "all the responsibility of having them hanged himself." Some of these Tories had promised $10 for every scalp taken, and fifty acres of land to all persons who joined them.

The settlement of Currietown having been put under the torch, Willett sent a force to its defence. He then went in pursuit of the enemy and a battle occurred at what is known as Sharon Centre, where in a cedar swamp still to be seen, 200 or 300 Indians and Tories were dispersed. About forty Indians were killed, and five Americans. The Indians were commanded by a chief named Quackyack and the Tories by John Doxstader, who had come from Johnstown and is believed to have retreated to Oghwaga when pursued. Willett had with him only 150 men, including some militiamen. He led the attack in person, waving his hat and saying he could catch in the hat all the balls the enemy might send.

In this fight Captain Robert McKean, the brave scout, was wounded, and from the effects of the shot afterward died. Before the battle the Indians had bound to trees nine prisoners whom they had taken at Currietown. These men were tomahawked and scalped when the action began. Willett's soldiers afterward buried them, but one of the nine, Jacob Diefendorf, was not actually dead and his grave being only slightly covered he was able to extricate himself when consciousness returned. Some of Willett's soldiers afterward found Diefendorf lying outside his own grave. Stone received this story

from Diefendorf himself. On July 15th, Willett's men captured ninety head of cattle at Torlock, these cattle being sent to Fort Herkimer, where now were quartered the troops who had been forced to abandon Fort Schuyler in consequence of the destruction of the barracks.*

The next news from the enemy was that they had burned Wawarsing in Ulster County and had returned by way of Lackawaxen to Oghwaga. There were 300 Indians and ninety Tories in the party. In September an attack was made on a settlement occupying part of the site of the present village of Cobleskill, where between twenty and thirty Indians killed one man and took seven prisoners. Later in the season George Warner of Cobleskill was made a prisoner and, along with others, conveyed to Niagara, where were now confined about 200 Americans. Another incident in this neighborhood was the murder of Captain Dietz's family, his father, mother, wife, and four children, with a Scotch servant girl, by fifteen Tories and Indians. Near Little Falls, in an ambuscade, eleven men had been killed.

Near the end of October Colonel Willett was able to drive the invaders out of the valley and in circumstances which make one of the most gratifying incidents in all this story of the Border Wars. Major Ross had sailed from Buck Island with 450 men. Leaving his boats in Oneida Lake in charge of twenty invalid men, he proceeded by the Unadilla River and Cherry Valley to Warren's Bush on the Mohawk,† where he killed two men and burned twenty houses and large stores of grain. Brant and Crysler, meanwhile, with sixty or seventy Indians and Tories, fought an engagement on Summit, or

* Clinton MSS. † Ibid.

Utsyantha Lake. Joachim van Valkenburg in that fight lost his life. He had been known in Schoharie as one of the bravest of scouts. Crysler says he had twenty-eight men at Summit Lake,* that he took off fifty cattle and some horses, but on being pursued twenty-five miles down the Charlotte lost the cattle and made no attempt to recover them.

Major Ross went on to Johnstown, pursued by Colonel Willett, and was forced to retreat, losing seven men killed, thirty or forty wounded, and twenty-two who were taken prisoners. His little army had swollen to about 600 men, of whom 155 were regulars, 120 Sir John's Royal Greens, 150 Butler's Rangers, and 130 Indians.† Willett closely followed him to Fort Herkimer and when the motley forces turned to ascend the West Canada Creek, pursued them in a snowstorm. Twelve miles up the stream, at a difficult fording-place, where some of the enemy turned, Willett attacked them vigorously, killing several, among whom was the notorious Captain Walter Butler.‡ With the hand of an artist Willett has described this retreat:

Their flight was performed in an Indian file upon a constant trot, and one man being knocked in the head or falling off into the woods, never stopped the progress of his neighbors. Not even the fall of their favorite Butler could attract their attention so much as to induce them to take even the money or anything else out of his pocket, although he was not dead when found by one of our Indians who finished his business for him, and got a considerable booty. Strange as it may appear, yet notwithstanding the enemy had been four

* The Indian name of this lake, Utsyantha, means beautiful spring, cold and pure. The spring at the head of the Delaware was then called Oteseondeo. Dr. Beauchamp thinks it may be the same word.

† Clinton MSS.

‡ Butler has sometimes been called Major, but the commission found in one of his pockets showed that he had only a captain's rank.

days with only half a pound of horse flesh for each man per day, yet they did not halt from the time we began to pursue them until they had proceeded more than thirty miles (and they continued their route a considerable part of the night). In this situation, to the compassion of a starving wilderness, we left them, in a fair way of receiving a punishment better suited to their merits than a musket ball, a tomahawk, or captivity.*

The circumstances in which Butler died have been narrated in more detail by Campbell:

When he arrived at West Canada Creek he swam his horse across the stream and then, turning around, defied his pursuers, who were on the opposite side. An Oneida immediately discharged his rifle and wounded him and he fell. Throwing down his rifle and his blanket, the Indian plunged into the creek and swam across; as soon as he had gained the opposite bank, he raised his tomahawk and with a yell, sprang, like a tiger, upon his fallen foe. Butler supplicated, though in vain, for mercy; the Oneida, with his uplifted axe, shouted in his broken English, "Sherry Valley! remember Sherry Valley!" and then buried it in his brain; he tore the scalp from the head of his victim, still quivering in the agonies of death, and ere the remainder of the Oneidas had joined him, the spirit of Walter Butler had gone to give up its account. The place where he crossed is called Butler's Ford to this day.

Still another account says Butler was "shot dead at once, having no time to implore for mercy." But Seeber Granger, who afterward lived in Cherry Valley and had been present at Butler's death, told Levi Beardsley that Butler was first shot in the back by an Oneida Indian from across the creek and tomahawked afterward. Whatever the details, it was meet that Butler should perish by the sword.

* Clinton MSS.

IV

Final War Scenes

1782–1783

TEN days before Walter Butler, abandoned by his companions in retreat, died in that northern forest, Cornwallis surrendered. Pursued by Greene and La Fayette, his armies overcome again and again, he had retired to Yorktown. South from the Highlands with Rochambeau had come Washington, and there at Yorktown it was now the Englishman, instead of the American, who became the fox that was bagged. With 37 warships and 7,000 men, General Sir Henry Clinton, ten days later, reached New York.

For the country at large the war was over, but not for the New York frontier. Alarms and active invasions were still to occur. Colonel Willett had driven the enemy, starving, into the wilderness and might have inflicted greater punishment, had not General Stark called away two companies of men and thus caused what Willett, in his official report, called, "an essential injury." Indeed a state of war scarcely ceased to exist on the frontier for a year and a half longer. Early in the winter, at a meeting of militia generals, it was voted unanimously that defences were still necessary, and in January there was talk of raising more troops. The enemy was lurking on the Ulster borders; Tories were giving them assistance; Schoharie was in a state of alarm, and new block-houses were being erected.*

* Clinton MSS.

In July a party of Indians set out for the upper Susquehanna and Delaware, but were diverted to German Flatts, whence they were called to Oswego where reinforcements were promised. By the end of July it was feared that all remains of settlements in the Mohawk Valley would be destroyed. There were 560 of the enemy assembled at Oswego, of whom 350 were Yägers, but there were no Indians. Brant's followers had already been at Canajoharie whence they had proceeded to German Flatts. Brant had 500 or 600 men with him and had carried away 125 cattle for the army at Oswego. Early in August he started out again, but a scout was dispatched to call him back. Major Ross remarked that owing to the cessation of hostilities, he would rather have given 50 guineas than that Brant should have gone out. Brant returned with eighteen prisoners and one scalp.*

As late as October rumors were heard that an army was coming down from Canada to desolate the Mohawk. The fortifications at Oswego had been rebuilt and 400 men were stationed there. Here was one of the few strongholds now left in British hands. Its occupation had been of signal service to them in the years that had passed since Oriskany. Owing to delay in hearing that the Treaty of Peace had been signed, it was determined to make an attempt to capture it. Should another campaign be necessary, possession of Oswego by the Americans would be of the highest importance. Colonel Willett set out in February, 1783, and came within a few miles of the fortress, but was then forced by the severe weather, the mistake of a guide, and other obstacles to turn back his steps. This is

* Bartholomew Forbes's statement in the Clinton MSS.

believed to have been the last offensive operation undertaken on the frontier, if not in the war itself.

British troops and Tories alone now remained at Oswego. Late in the previous summer the Indians had been sent home. The British had informed them that their services were no longer needed, and their supplies of provisions were stopped. After expressing great displeasure at this treatment, they departed with sullen faces into the wilderness.*

It awakens real sympathy to read that statement. Considering how small was the force of Indian warriors at any time in Iroquois history, the men led to the frontier by Brant must be accepted as large Indian armies—as large, perhaps, as were ever put into the field. The total of all who served under the British has been placed at 1,580, while those friendly to the Americans numbered about 230. Of the Oneidas only 150 followed the British, while of the Mohawks they had in their service 300 and of the Senecas, 400.

It was base ingratitude that the English, in this last scene at Oswego, showed toward their faithful savage allies. In this war the Indians had had nothing to gain and all to lose. When the war closed they had, in fact, lost everything in the world that was theirs. That conduct at Oswego, moreover, was an ingratitude which the English Government itself was afterward to exhibit when the treaty of peace with the colonies was drawn and signed. Strangely contrasted this ingratitude stands with that attention and that expenditure so freely bestowed on Brant and the other Indians during their visit to England in the early years of the war.

* Affidavit of Joseph Clements in the Clinton MSS.

Desolation now prevailed everywhere on the frontier. During journeys westward with prisoners, fishing and hunting had long been the only methods of securing food in the Susquehanna Valley. The sites of former villages, Indian as well as white man villages, had become forlorn and blackened scenes. Thorns and shrubs had grown up where wheat and corn had waved their heads. Weeds and brambles flourished where hearthstones once had blazed. Captain Dietz, survivor of the family murdered in Schoharie, while a prisoner lived on birch bark and berries, during the journey down the Susquehanna, save that at the mouth of the Unadilla a deer was shot and starvation thus averted. Another party of prisoners found at Oghwaga a colt lost by Dockstader. They killed it and lived long on its flesh, a part being dried and taken on the journey. Others are known to have passed four days without food. Life in one case was sustained by the flesh of a wolf, in another a hen hawk was eaten, in another a rattlesnake. Bread and salt there were none. Fresh ashes were often used as a substitute for salt.

Patchin told Priest that beyond Chemung a dead horse left by the Sullivan expedition was found in the spring of 1780, and enough of the carcass had survived the attacks of wolves to furnish food. On the Genesee River were met some Indians planting corn. The Indians had a horse which Brant ordered killed and the meat distributed. Patchin declares that Brant insisted that prisoners and Indians should share alike in food. Brant's parties had often been provided with food at the home of Mary Jemison, a regular stopping-place on the route to Niagara. "Many and many a night," says she, "I have pounded samp for them from sunset to sun-

rise and furnished them with the necessary provisions and clean clothing for their journey."

On arrival in Canada the privations endured by the prisoners were often great. Bloodgood mentions three men who spent two years working like slaves without hats in the cornfield. When they returned to Schoharie after the war they presented a very woful appearance with their faces burned almost black. A touching story is told by Priest of Miss Annie McKee. She was made a prisoner at Harpersfield and taken to Niagara, where the squaws insisted that she should go through the terrible ordeal of running the gauntlet:

> It was a grievous sight to see a slender girl, weak from hunger and worn down with the horrors and privations of a four hundred miles' journey through the woods by night and day, compelled at the end to run this race of shame and suffering. Her head was bare and her hair tangled into mats, her feet naked and bleeding from wounds, all her clothes torn to rags during her march—one would have thought the heart-rending sight would have moved the savages. She wept not, for all her tears had been shed. She stared around upon the grinning multitude in hopeless amazement and fixed despair, while she glanced mournfully at the fort which lay at the end of the race. The signal was given, which was a yell, when she immediately started off as fast as she could, while the squaws laid on their whips with all their might, thus venting their malice and hatred upon a white woman. She reached the fort in almost a dying condition, being beaten and cut in the most dreadful manner, as her person had been so much exposed on account of the want of clothing to protect her. She was at length allowed to go to her friends—some Scotch people then living in Canada—and after the war she returned to the States.

In December, 1781, with the record not yet complete, it was estimated that in Tryon County 700

buildings had been burned, 613 persons had deserted, and 354 families had abandoned their dwellings. The number of farms that lay uncultivated was placed at 12,000. Governor Clinton estimated that the wheat destroyed would amount to 150,000 bushels. Tryon County had lost two-thirds of its inhabitants. Of those who remained 380 were widows and 2,000 were fatherless children.*

* A collection of grim and curious souvenirs of this warfare was long supposed to have been captured and taken to Albany early in the spring of 1782. Along with a mass of peltry were said to have been found eight large packages containing scalps, "taken in the last three years by the Seneca Indians from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia." The scalps, "cured, dried, hooped, and painted with all the Indian triumphal marks," had been designed for shipment from Tioga Point in January of the same year to Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Canada, who was asked to transmit them "over the water to the Great King, that he may regard them and be refreshed, and that he may see our faithfulness in destroying his enemies and be convinced that his presents have not been made to ungrateful people."

The letter to Sir Frederick Haldimand added that "the Great King's enemies are many, and they grow fast in number. They were formerly like young panthers; they could neither bite nor scratch; we could play with them safely; we feared nothing they could do to us. But now their bodies are become big as the elk and strong as the buffalo; they have also got great and sharp claws. They have driven us out of our country by [our] taking part in your quarrel. We expect the Great King will give us another country that our children may live after us and be his friends and children as we are. We are poor and you have plenty of everything. We know you will send us powder and guns and knives and hatchets; but we also want shirts and blankets."

An invoice and description of the scalps were given in which appears the following: "No. 1. Containing 43 scalps of Congress soldiers killed in different skirmishes; these are stretched on black hoops, four inch diameter; the inside of the skin painted red with a small black spot to note their being killed with bullets. Also sixty-two farmers, killed in their houses; the hoops red, the skin painted brown and marked with a hoe; a black circle all round to denote their being surprised in the night; and a black hatchet in the middle signifying their being killed with that weapon. No. 2. Containing 98 of farmers killed in their houses; hoops red; figure of a hoe to mark their profession; great white circle and sun, to show they were surprised in the daytime; *a little red foot* to show they stood upon their defence, and died fighting for their lives and families. No. 5. Containing 88 scalps of women; hair long, braided in the Indian fashion, to show they were mothers; hoops blue; skin yellow ground, with little red tadpoles, to represent, by way of triumph, the tears of

Such was this warfare. The consequences were far greater destruction to settlements than the Revolution brought to any other part of the Colonies. For the only approach to these losses we must go to the distant South, where, in the late years of the conflict, ruthless destruction was done. But those parts offer a suggestion, not a parallel.

It is natural to say that this destruction in New York should have been averted, and that, with proper precautions, it might have been. Nothing is clearer than that the authorities were inexcusably slow to realize the danger and completely failed to guard against it. Aside from the Sullivan expedition and Colonel Willett's success of October, 1781, no body of men sent to the frontier succeeded in one instance in crushing the enemy. It may well be questioned if the appalling havoc wrought by Colonel William Butler in the Susquehanna Valley and by General Sullivan's army in the Genesee country was not the gravest of all errors committed during these attempts to provide protection for the frontier.

It was not offensive warfare that the frontier needed, but defensive. Oriskany and the two expeditions merely roused the Indians to warfare still more savage. Could the men whom General Sulli-

grief occasioned to their relations; a black scalping-knife or hatchet at the bottom, to mark their being killed with those instruments; 17 others, hair very gray; black hoops, plain brown colour; no mark but the short club or cassetete, to show they were knocked down dead, or had their brains beat out. No. 7. 211 girls scalped, big and little; small yellow hoops; white ground; tears, hatchet, club, scalping-knife, &c. No. 8. This package is a mixture of all the varieties above mentioned, to the number of 122; with a box of birch bark, containing 29 little infants' scalps of various sizes; small white hoops; white ground."

This letter was long supposed to be genuine and has often been printed as if it were. Stone, however, discovered that it was written by Franklin "for political purposes."

van led have been stationed permanently, and as early as September, 1777, in forts at Unadilla, Schoharie, and Cherry Valley, thus guarding the upper Susquehanna, Schoharie, and lower Mohawk valleys in the way that Fort Schuyler guarded the upper Mohawk, much that was destroyed might have been saved.*

We must hold the English first responsible for these frontier wars, in that it was they who coaxed the Indians into the fighting at Oriskany, whence proceeded the impelling force in the Indian breast for the invasions that followed. In Oriskany was aroused the strongest passion an Indian can know —the desire for revenge. In Butler's and Sullivan's work that passion was intensified into the bitterest hatred possible to that deep and dark aboriginal nature. Just as the Susquehanna Valley became the victim after Oriskany, so was it the Mohawk, Schoharie, and Delaware valleys that paid the penalty after Butler and Sullivan came.

I am writing here of the Indians. As for the Tories, their work was connected in effect, and mainly in design, with the struggle for the Hudson Valley. That great highway never passed from the control of the American armies. Twice it was nearly lost — once through British valor, once through treason—but lost entirely it never was. For the maintenance of possession of it honor belongs to many—to Washington above all; to

* Governor Clinton had suggested to Washington in March, 1779, "the Propriety of erecting one or two small Posts on the nearest navigable Waters of the Susquehanah; they would serve as a security to the Settlements, & of Course induce the Militia to engage in the Service with greater alacrity. From the general Idea I have of the Country, I am led to believe that the Unida [Unadilla] & where the Susquehanah empties out of the Lakes, West of Cherry Valley, would be the most elligible places."

Philip Schuyler, to George Clinton, and to Benedict Arnold only in lesser degree (traitor though Arnold afterward became). But the full measure of obligation remains yet to be bestowed upon men, women, and children in the fertile valleys of four rivers, where their homes and crops were converted into conflagrations, and they themselves, as cattle and game might be, were slaughtered.

This chapter should not close without a repetition of something already said—that, in so far as concerns property, the losses of the frontiersmen were more than equalled, if we have regard for proportions, by the appalling destruction done to Iroquois villages. Of those losses and of Indian lives that were lost, let it always be remembered that no historian from the forest has ever chronicled the moving story—a story pervaded by the deepest pathos that comes into human lives.

V

The Iroquois After the War

NOT alone had Iroquois civilization been overthrown. A still more pathetic fate awaited that proud people. One of the most touching results of the war, indeed, was the permanent exile that came to many of them—exile from streams and forests where for at least three hundred years their race had found a home. Deprived of British support, they saw themselves at the mercy of men whom they had fought as rebels, but who were now the victorious masters of an imperial domain. Nothing for them was exacted by the British in the treaty of peace. Not even their names were mentioned. They were simply abandoned to the mercies of the victors—these misguided children of the forest, who, in Morgan's words, went forth "not to peril their lives for themselves, but to keep the 'covenant chain' with a transatlantic ally." The misfortunes of the Indians have awakened pity from other writers. Campbell, in closing his narrative of the darkest deeds in the war period, says:

> When I look over this land, the domain of the once proud Iroquois, and remember how, in the days of their glory, they defended this infant colony from the ravages of the French, and contrast their former state—numerous, powerful, and respected—with their present condition, I feel almost disposed to blot out the record which I have made of their subsequent cruelties.

It was not strictly true of all the Iroquois that their alliance with the English had been unshaken. At various times the French, as we have seen, made serious inroads upon the English. When Sir William Johnson appeared upon the scene, Joncaire had intrigued with the four western nations to very real purpose. The Mohawks alone remained always loyal. Early in the eighteenth century, the Jesuit missionaries had ceased to be purely religious zealots. They were then as much the agents of the King of France as agents of the Church of Rome. The Canadian Jesuits having originally been "before all things, an apostle," his successor, says Parkman, "was before all things a political agent." At Onondaga, in 1709, sentiment had become much divided as between the English and the French. Although Abraham Schuyler won back the wavering red men, their sympathies a generation later gave signs of flowing back once more to France. Had not Johnson appeared at this critical period, Parkman thinks the intrigues of the French would have succeeded. In that case the after history of the Province of New York must have been greatly changed. Morgan's opinion is that France must chiefly ascribe to the Iroquois "The final overthrow of her magnificent schemes of colonization in the northern part of America."

From the English the Mohawks, before leaving their native valley in 1776, had received a pledge that when the war was ended their condition would be made as good as it had been before, and this pledge had been renewed in 1779. It was only through the persistent exertions of Brant that the Mohawks at last secured fulfilment of the pledge. Brant asked for lands in Canada on the northern

shore of Lake Ontario, but was induced to accept another tract on Grand River, a Canadian stream flowing into Lake Erie near its eastern end. He stipulated for "six miles on each side of the river from the mouth to its source," the length of the stream being about 100 miles. It was a fair and fertile territory, and here still live many Mohawks, possessed of 50,000 acres—all that are left of the original 300,000.

In the legislature of New York, meanwhile, there had been some disposition to expel the Iroquois from all the territory of the State, where by the laws of war their lands had been forfeited. It was largely due to Washington that these severe measures were not undertaken. He advocated a liberal and humane policy, and received from the Indians a singular reward. At his death they mourned him as a benefactor, admitting him to a place in their own Heaven, an honor conferred on him alone among white men, and including a special residence as prepared for him by the Great Spirit. Here Washington was supposed to dwell in a spacious mansion surrounded by attractive gardens and securely fortified. Clad in a military uniform he was believed to enjoy perfect felicity.

In 1785 the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were confirmed in possession of certain New York lands including those bounded by the Unadilla, Chenango, and Susquehanna rivers, but in 1788 the State of New York acquired that territory from them by purchase. Descendants of some of the other Iroquois still live on reservation in Central and Western New York. Besides the Mohawks who settled in the Grand River valley some others live in Canada at Caughnawaga, near Montreal, the total number of

the Iroquois living in Canada reaching 30,000;* while on land granted in Michigan and the Indian Territory others have found homes.

Brant, in the interest of the Mohawks, made his second visit to London at the close of the year 1785, and there renewed his acquaintance with many English officers with whom he had been associated in the Revolution. He was cordially received. One of the officers was General Stewart, son of the Earl of Bute, with whom in America Brant had slept under the same tent. Another was Lord Percy, afterward Duke of Northumberland, with whom he corresponded until his death, and for whom his portrait was painted. He dined at famous houses and showed himself quite at home in London drawing-rooms, clad sometimes in the dress of an English gentleman, sometimes in a half military and half savage costume. At dinner-tables he sat where were assembled Fox, Burke, and Sheridan. From Fox he received the gift of a silver snuff-box. Ladies remarked upon his mild disposition and the manly intelligence of his face. He paid a formal visit to George III. and the royal hand, in the usual way, was extended for a kiss. Brant declined this osculatory opportunity, holding that his Indian rank technically made him as good a man as the English sovereign. Brant had the grace, however, to kiss the hand of the English queen.

During this visit, a grand ball was given in Brant's honor. The foreign ambassadors and many lights of the great social world were present, Brant attending with his war-paint on. Mistaking the painted face for a visor, and wishing to examine the visor,

* So stated in London in 1901 by J. O. Brant-Sero, a descendant of Joseph Brant.

the Turkish minister ventured to touch Brant's nose. Brant saw his opportunity for sport, and instantly sprang away from the Turk. Giving a loud war-whoop, he flashed his shining tomahawk in the air, to the consternation of everyone who took his conduct seriously. Brant was entertained by that dissolute Prince of Wales, afterward George IV., whose chief ambition was to be known as the first gentleman of Europe. With the prince Brant was taken to places which he afterward described as "very queer for a Prince to go to." Stone narrates these incidents with obvious pride in his hero.

During Brant's stay in London the question arose of placing him on half pay, to which he seems to have had just claim because he had held a captain's commission. Some difficulty that ensued in regard to it led to a letter from Brant to one of the king's under secretaries that forcibly illustrates the native dignity and independence of this Mohawk leader:

SIR:

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you last I have been thinking a great deal about the half pay or pension which you and I have talked about.

I am really sorry that I ever mentioned such a thing to you. It was really owing to promises made to me by certain persons several times during the late war that I should always be supported by the government at war or peace. At that time I never asked anybody to make me such a promise. It was of their own free will.

When I joined the English at the beginning of the war it was purely on account of my forefathers' engagements with the King. I always looked upon these engagements or covenants between the King and the Indian nations as a sacred thing. Therefore I was not to be frightened by the threats of the whites at that time. I assure you I had no

other view in it and this was my real course from the beginning.

However, after this the English gave me pay and a commission from the Commander-in-Chief, which I gladly received as a mark of attention, though I never asked for it, and I believe my trouble and risques were of equal value to the marks of attention I received; I am sure not too much in the eyes of the Indians, or I should not have accepted them, as I should be sorry to raise jealousies. My meaning for mentioning those things to you is because I saw there was some difficulty on your part how to act on this head relative to half pay or pension; and when it does not seem clear I should be sorry to accept it. Therefore I beg of you will say no more about it, for was I to get it when there were doubts about the propriety of it, I should not be happy. For which reason I think it is best to go without it.

I am now, sir, to beg you will return my best thanks to government for what they have done for me and am, sir, your most obedient humble servant, JOSEPH BRANT.*

On his return to Canada Brant established himself in a comfortable home near the present town of Brantford. Here in 1798 he had between thirty

* These London visits of Brant and his grandfather have been recently recalled in an interesting manner by the presence in London in January, 1901, of a descendant of theirs whose home is in Ontario, Canada—Mr. J. O. Brant-Sero, a man of position, education, and character, who speaks our language with the fluency and accent of a cultivated Englishman. During the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic, Mr. Brant-Sero, true to the loyalty of his race, offered to volunteer in the English service, the Six Nations by formal action having expressed their willingness to send out 300 warriors. The English declined to accept the service on the ground that only men of European descent were permitted to take part in the war. Mr. Brant-Sero then went to South Africa, hoping that, through a personal visit, he might get enrolled in one of the Colonial regiments. After making several attempts, he succeeded only in obtaining an appointment on the civilian staff of the remount department. Finding it impossible to get into the fighting ranks, he afterward resigned. On returning to London, Mr. Brant-Sero, in narrating his South African experiences to a reporter of The Daily News, remarked that, although in Canada his people "live on a footing of perfect equality," in South Africa "there were men who actually refused to shake hands with me because of my Indian blood."

and forty negroes cultivating his land and looking after his horses. He had reduced them to a state of complete subjection as slaves. Once more he turned his attention to translations from the Bible. His version of the Gospel of Mark was the first of the gospels ever translated entire into the Mohawk tongue. Under his supervision and with the patronage of the King of England, it was published with the prayer-book and psalms in Mohawk as a handsome volume.

Brant afterward made a journey to Philadelphia and had an audience with Washington, who was then president. He met many other distinguished persons, among whom were Aaron Burr, Volney, and Talleyrand. From Burr he received a letter of introduction to Burr's daughter, Theodosia, who, at her home in New York, gave a dinner in Brant's honor, at which were present Bishop Moore and other eminent men of the city.

In Albany Brant met officers against whom he had fought in Tryon County, and talked with them of old and stormy times. During this visit he was informed that John Wells, son of the late Captain Wells, of Cherry Valley, had called to see him, determined to take his life. Brant calmly remarked, "Let him come in"; but the young man in the meantime had been induced to forego his purpose.*

Brant spent the remainder of his days at his home in Canada. When his sons had grown up they were sent to Dartmouth College. In a letter to James Wheelock he expressed a wish that they should be

* John Wells subsequently became an eminent lawyer in New York. He was associated with Hamilton in the publication of "The Federalist." On his death a beautiful memorial of him in marble, surmounted by a bust, was erected, and may still be seen inside of St. Paul's Church, in Broadway.

"studiously attended to, not only as to their education, but likewise as to their morals in particular." Again he made reference to his own experience many years before at Dr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon, of which Dartmouth was now the large successor. "For my part," said he, "nothing can ever efface from my memory the persevering attention your revered father paid to my education when I was in the place my sons now are. Though I was an unprofitable pupil in some respects, yet my worldly affairs have been much benefited by the instruction I there received." Brant was liberal with those sons of his, as is shown in a letter sending £100 for them as "pocket money."

Brant's acquaintance with John Harper continued long after the war. "You may depend on my influence," he wrote him in 1804, "with the Oghwagas to do you justice, which I believe is their full determination whenever it is in their power." Colonel Harper was still accustomed to do friendly acts for the Indians. Thus for thirty years were continued those relations, begun at Oghwaga in 1777, when the Indians placed upon Harper's head that crown of leather wrought with beads.

Brant died in 1807, and lies buried in the Mohawk churchyard near Brantford. During his last illness he addressed to his adopted nephew these words: "Have pity on the poor Indians. If you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can." Stone's splendid eulogy contains the following words: "In letters he was in advance of some of the generals against whom he fought; and even of still greater military chieftains who have flourished before his day and since. True, he was ambitious, and so was Cæsar. He sought to

combine many nations under his own dominion, and so did Napoleon. He ruled over barbarians, and so did Peter the Great." In the town named after him, an imposing monument perpetuates the memory of Brant. In that soil, therefore, sleeps in his last sleep the most interesting Indian who, in that eventful eighteenth century, forever linked his name with the history of Central New York.

Stone is not alone among Brant's eulogists. William C. Bryant, of Buffalo, had remarked that the evidence is incontestible that he was "a great man—in many respects the most extraordinary his race has produced since the advent of the white man on this continent"; and John Fiske, in one of his later books, declares that he "was the most remarkable Indian known to history." Schoolcraft calls him "the Jephtha of his tribe," and lauds his "firmness and energy of purpose" as qualities which few among the American aborigines have ever equalled.

But the best evidence of the man's personal worth lies in the high respect and friendship which he inspired among educated and titled Englishmen, as shown in many ways and notably in his correspondence. Chesterfield remarked that a private letter discloses not only the character of the writer, but that of the person to whom the letter is addressed. Read in the light of this statement, no one can fail to see the regard in which Brant was held by the Duke of Northumberland, at that time the head of the British peerage, who wrote him the following letter:

NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE,
Sept. 3rd, 1791.

MY DEAR JOSEPH:

Colonel Simcoe, who is going out Governor of Upper Canada, is kind enough to promise to deliver this to you,

with a brace of pistols which I desire you will keep for my sake. I must particularly recommend the Colonel to you and the nation. He is a most intimate friend of mine, and is possessed of every good quality which can recommend him to your friendship. He is brave, humane, sensible, and honest. You may safely rely upon whatever he says, for he will not deceive you. He loves and honors the Indians, whose noble sentiments so perfectly correspond with his own. He wishes to live upon the best terms with them, and as Governor will have it in his power to be of much service to them. In short, he is worthy to be a Mohawk. Love him at first for my sake, and you will soon come to love him for his own.

I was very glad to hear that you had received the rifle safe which I sent you, and hope it has proved useful to you. I preserve with great care your picture, which is hung up in the Duchess's own room.

Continue to me your friendship and esteem, and believe me ever to be, with the greatest truth,

Your affectionate
Friend and Brother,
NORTHUMBERLAND.*

Colonel Daniel Claus wrote to Brant in 1781 from Montreal, a letter containing these words: "We shall be very happy to see you here. Mrs. Claus

* Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland, had opposed the war, but when it actually began he offered his services and was in this country in 1775 and 1776 with the rank of Brigadier-General. He led the reinforcements which General Gage sent to Lexington in April, 1775, but was prevented by illness from commanding his regiment at Bunker Hill. He came to New York with the English army in 1776 and at the action which reduced Fort Washington, led the column making the first entrance into the American lines. Fort George, in that neighborhood, was named by him. In the same year he succeeded to the barony of Percy and returned to England. It will be remembered that Brant, on coming home from England early in 1776, joined the English army on Long Island, and afterward made his way across the country to the Indians already assembled at Oghwaga. It was in this period that he seems to have made the acquaintance of the Duke, who was then known as Lord Percy.

and all friends are well here and salute you heartily; also your sisters and daughters; the others here are well, and desire their love and duty. God bless and prosper you."

Brant has deserved no large part of that load of obloquy which on this frontier for many years rested upon his name. He was better than the Tories under whose guidance he served, and far better than most Indian chiefs of his time. There was much in the man that was kindly and humane. If he loved war, this was because he loved his friends and his home still more. He fought in battle with the vigor and skill of a savage, but we are to remember that he fought where honor called him. To the story of his life peculiar fascination must long be attached, a large part of which springs from the potent charm of an open personality. In Brant's character were joined strength and humanity, genius for war and that unfamiliar quality in a Mohawk savage, *bon-hommie*.

PART VIII

The Restoration of the Frontier

1782–1800

I

Return of the Former Settlers

1782–1788

WITH the close of the war, the way lay open for repeopling these valleys. On the Mohawk and Schoharie, some signs of civilization had survived. Those valleys had never been entirely depopulated. War had despoiled them much later than the Susquehanna. Their crowning misfortunes were among the last incidents of the conflict and they had never been actually abandoned. The return of peace saw their surviving male adults returning to their former homes from disbanded regiments, or removing to the Susquehanna, and their old men, women, and children emerging from block-houses. As Stone remarks, those valleys "soon smiled through their tears." New and substantial courage must have come to these people, as, on the one hand, they looked into the future, with its splendid promises, and, on the other, recalled the past with its

> old, unhappy, far-off things,
> And battles long ago.

But on the Susquehanna was found a region entirely desolate. It virtually contained no inhabitants. Nature once more was in full possession of it. Something perhaps of what had been still remained, since clearings existed which the forest

had not entirely reclaimed. Here and there stood the remains of log dwellings that might be reconstructed and made habitable. On the upper waters, lay one of the fairest portions of a fair valley, with fertile lands bordering the Great Island River. Over these lands and along the surface of this river it was certain that the warlike Iroquois would roam no more.

The valley had continued to be a resort of Indians more or less hostile until the treaty of peace was signed. Brant is known to have been at Oghwaga and Unadilla, and it is also true that wandering companies of Indians were there until a period long subsequent to the peace; but these survivals were few in numbers, and were often Oneidas friendly to the settlers. Cooper delayed the farewell of Leather Stocking to Otsego Lake until 1794, when he put these words into his hero's mouth:

> When I look about me at these hills where I used to could count sometimes twenty smokes, curling over the tree tops from the Delaware camps, it raises mournful thoughts to think that not a red skin is left of them all, unless it be a drunken vagabond from the Oneidas, or them Yankee Indians who, they say, be moving up from the sea shore. Well, well! The time has come at last and I must go.

Men born to toil and veterans of war took up these new tasks in the wilderness. The first to enter the Susquehanna, came from the Mohawk and Schoharie. A number arrived between the surrender of Cornwallis and the conclusion of the treaty of peace, including Isaac Collier, who entered by Otsego Lake as early as 1782. Mr. Collier was of German descent and before the war had been a

taxpayer in the Mohawk Valley. He was the father of Peter Collier. On the Susquehanna he opened a hotel, at the settlement since called after him, where pioneers long found food and shelter.

To Cherry Valley in the spring of 1783, returned Colonel Campbell with his family, to find the settlement in a state of utter desolation. He proceeded to erect a log-hut, which, a few months later, sheltered distinguished visitors. In the summer of this year George Washington ascended the Mohawk and passed over to the head waters of the Susquehanna. In a letter to the Marquis de Chastelleux, dated in October, he says he "traversed the country to the eastern branch of the Susquehanna and viewed the Lake Otsego and the portage between that lake and the Mohawk River at Canajoharie." He was accompanied by Governor Clinton, General Hand and others, and spent a night under Colonel Campbell's roof. On the following morning, he went over to the lake. At the Campbell residence, Auchenbreck, visitors may see to-day the site of an apple-tree beneath which Washington drank tea. Governor Clinton remarked to Mrs. Campbell during the visit, that her sons would some day make fine soldiers; to which she answered that she "hoped her country never would need their services." "I hope so, too," said Washington, "for I have seen enough of war."

Washington was much impressed by the opportunity which the valley gave for communication by water with regions south and west. The same conclusions seem to have been reached by him that had been formed by Cadwallader Colden nearly fifty years before when Surveyor-General of the Prov-

ince. Washington wrote in the letter, already quoted from :

> Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking more comprehensive and extensive views of the vast inland navigation of these United States, from maps and the information of others, and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that providence which has dealt her favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them.

To Middlefield soon returned former settlers, and to Springfield several of those who had seen their homes destroyed by Brant, while to Richfield came the Tunnicliffes, and to Harpersfield in 1783, or the next year, the Harpers—John, William, Alexander, and Joseph—all but the last named being now military officers, and the women of the family coming from Windsor, Conn.

Matthew Cully, in 1783, returned to his lands at the mouth of the Cherry Valley Creek. Below Portlandville in 1788 he built a grist-mill, and four years later his brother built a saw-mill. Following the Cullys in 1784 came Colonel John Moore, a family named Ford, and then Abraham and Jacob Beals.

A contemporary of Peter Collier was John Van Der Werker, who settled on the river near Oneonta Village and built a grist-mill. Van Der Werker had been in the valley with Henry Scramling before the war, and with Scramling returned as soon as the conflict ceased. With Scramling came his two brothers, David and George, and their brothers-in-law, David and John Young. During the war, the father of the Scramlings had been killed by the Ind-

ians, and David and George had been in Canada as captives. David's wife had also been a prisoner. To Oneonta came Adam Quackenbush and Simeon Walling. Mr. Walling had gone down the valley in 1779 with General Clinton, and now took up lands at the old Indian village since known as the Slade farm. In Oneonta several others settled about 1786 or later, including Aaron Brink, Baltus Himmel north of the village, and Abraham Houghtaling and Peter Schwartz in the north part of the town.

Still further down the river, in what is now Otego, the Ogdens arrived to take up their old lands. One of the family had been made a prisoner by Brant at the siege of Fort Schuyler, and carried to Canada. Traces of Teutonic influence may be found elsewhere on the Susquehanna. Perhaps one exists in Unadilla in the name of an old mill-race called the Binnekill.* But so much of it as ever existed in Unadilla was soon extinguished by stronger influences from Connecticut. Teutonic folks and the Yankees did not live at peace in those pioneer times. Theirs was a state, sometimes of war, sometimes of armed neutrality; but seldom one of peace.†

The Johnstons of Sidney, in May, 1784, set out to return from their temporary home in Florida, Montgomery County. In 1783 the father, the Rev. William Johnston, had delivered a sermon on the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and not long afterward breathed his last. Mr. Johnston, after the massacre of Cherry Valley, had gone to Schenectady, where he remained two years and then went

* From binnen, meaning inner, and kill, a creek.

† Out of this condition seems to have grown an early colloquial name for what is now the large and thriving town of Oneonta—the largest town in the valley above Binghamton—Klipnockie.

to Florida. With the widow came back Witter and Hugh Johnston, and the daughters.

It is probable that others came with them, including David McMaster, whose life the Johnstons had saved at Cherry Valley. On the farm owned in late years by Mr. Deyo the Johnstons spent their first season, reluctant to occupy the lands across the river where it is probable that Indians were still living. On crossing to their old home the next season, they built a log-house on Brant Hill and lived there until they erected a frame dwelling.

On the Unadilla River settled Jonathan Spencer. He had served in the war, and came from Florida bringing with him a son named Orange, who was a surveyor. His household goods were transported by boat from the lake or from Cherry Valley to a farm about one mile below Rockdale. He had six other sons, and his descendants have continued to be numerous in the Susquehanna valley. His wife long survived him. Mr. Rogers well remembered sitting at her knee in boyhood to hear stirring tales of war in the Mohawk Valley. At Fort Plain she had herself stood guard in a block-house while the men were away on duty.

II

Men Who Came from New England

1783–1800

ON the old frontier, as on those lands westward from the Fort Stanwix line now first open to settlement, a new race was about to plant homes. They were of English ancestry, but had had a far older racial experience in the new world than the Palatines and Scotch-Irish. They came from New England and by them, in the years immediately following the war, was poured forth a tide of migration that completely dominated for long years afterward Central and Western New York. They almost completely submerged the Palatines and Scotch-Irish. Leadership was, in fact, practically wrested by them from those older pioneers.

Under the act of 1779, attainting of treason, and declaring forfeit the lands of settlers who had taken up arms against the colonies, vast tracts on the frontier came to state ownership—for example, almost the entire valley of the Charlotte and extensive holdings along the Mohawk. Out of these tracts and many others, the New Englanders made their purchases. One of the sufferers from that act was Colonel John Butler, and another Colonel Guy Johnson, who at German Flatts had held title to 2,000 acres; but greater losers still were the children of

Sir William Johnson, and notably Sir John, whose inherited domain was the largest ever held in the Province by any one man except his father and possibly one or two of the Dutch patroons. These sufferers were mostly the Scotch Highlanders and Irish who had fled to Canada in 1775, the act of forfeiture affecting few, if any, of the Palatines or Scotch-Irish, who almost to a man had been patriots.

Many of the pioneers from New England had served in the Revolution. Some had gone up the Mohawk with Benedict Arnold to Fort Schuyler in 1777; others were at Cherry Valley with Colonel Alden; others went down the Susquehanna with General Clinton, and thence to the fertile lands of the Genesee. Most notable of all the impressions they had carried home were impressions of the fertility of this New York soil and the sparsity of its population. This was strikingly true of the Genesee country, where the ears of corn they had plucked from extensive fields cultivated by Indians awakened astonishment that still survived. Accordingly the history of the re-peopling of this frontier is mainly a history of the migration poured into it from Massachusetts and Connecticut, by a people whom Professor Lounsbury has eulogized as "born levellers of the forest, the greatest wielders of the axe the world has ever known." They brought not only skill with the axe, but certain arts and refinements in domestic life before unknown to the frontier, and with those arts a spirit of enterprise and invention, with an initiatory energy which carried their own fortunes far and which, more perhaps than all other human forces, have made the central and western parts of New York State what they now are.

Owing to delays in concluding the Treaty of

Peace, the tide of immigration from New England did not set in until the spring and summer of 1784.* Perhaps the earliest man who arrived in the Mohawk Valley from Connecticut was Hugh White, founder of Whitestown, which lies a few miles west of Utica. He came in the spring of 1784, as the leader of a conquering band that was soon to follow him. He ascended the Mohawk in a bateau, passing on the way many abandoned farms with buildings reduced to masses of charred logs and timbers, and with isolated chimneys standing black and grim against northern and southern skies. In the following year, men from Connecticut planted a settlement within gunshot of Fort Schuyler, and between that year and the beginning of the new century so great was the influx to the German Flatts neighborhood that 10,000 settlers are believed to have arrived in Herkimer County alone. Many of these were from Western Massachusetts, where they had found a new impulse to migration from Shays's Rebellion, in which they had taken part, and in the consequences of the suppression of which they had had an unhappy share.

But it was Connecticut that made the largest contribution to the settlement of the frontier. As Virginia was the mother of Presidents, so has Connecticut been a mother of States. From the Hudson River westward to the Pacific through the line of Northern States, there is hardly a town, says Trumbull, "in which persons may not be found whose ancestral roots dip back into Hartford County." In the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821,

*Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, 1781, but the treaty was not signed until September 3, 1783; nor was New York evacuated by the British until November 25, 1783. The treaty was finally ratified by Congress on June 4, 1784.

a majority of the 127 members were either born in Connecticut or were sons of fathers who were born there. Calhoun declared that, at one time the members of Congress who were either born or reared in Connecticut lacked but five of a majority of that body. The single town of Litchfield nearly forty years ago had given birth to 13 United States Senators, 22 members of Congress from New York, 15 State supreme court judges, 9 presidents of colleges, 18 other college professors, and 11 governors and lieutenant-governors of States.

Aside from the southern and southwestern parts of the State, about all the early settlements in Connecticut sprang from the original river towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, which have been happily described as "strictly speaking, the original cradle of empire." Family names familiar in the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys from the earliest times, may be found in the records of those Hartford county towns. All the New England States found representation, but the showing Connecticut makes far surpasses that of the other States.

The beginning of New England interest in the Susquehanna we must assign to the coming of John Sergeant and Elihu Spencer, who, as missionaries, arrived before 1750. Mr. Spencer was a native of Windsor and Gideon Hawley, who followed him, was also from Connecticut. After the visits of these men, no one in New England had his eyes more intently fixed on this valley than Dr. Wheelock, of Lebanon, to whom the labors of both these men had become well known. Dr. Wheelock's Indian school departed from Lebanon in 1770, but it had been long enough settled there to arouse an interest in

this valley in the minds of boys who as men became Susquehanna pioneers.

When John Harper, with Joseph Brant and other Indian boys, attended that school, Sluman Wattles, the Ouleout pioneer, was a lad living in Lebanon, eight or ten years of age, casting more than one eager glance at those dusky children of the western forest lands. In the same period, Daniel Bissell, the Unadilla pioneer, was a boy in Lebanon, twelve or fourteen years of age. He likewise saw these Indian boys, and must have known them well. The same fact is true of Nathaniel Wattles, also from Lebanon, and of James Hughston, his cousin, both of whom came to the Ouleout. It will be remembered that, during the Revolution, the wives and daughters of the Harpers of Harpersfield returned to East Windsor—the place from which the Harpers emigrated before the Revolution—where they remained until the war closed, when they went again to the settlement on the Charlotte. When Sluman Wattles came to the Ouleout, he had an interest in lands which John and Alexander Harper had purchased of the Indians before the Revolution. It is interesting further to recall that Jonathan Edwards, largely through whose influence Gideon Hawley had been sent into the valley, was a native of Windsor. Into this same part of Connecticut, early in the eighteenth century before the settlement of Cherry Valley, had come many Scotch-Irish.

West of the Fort Stanwix line the Susquehanna Valley was invaded by many men from Vermont who were among the "sufferers" in that State—men whose titles to real estate had been lost in the settlement of the disputed New Hampshire Grants, and to whom as compensation were given lands in the

Susquehanna Valley which New York had purchased from the Oneidas. One payment made to Oneidas and Tuscaroras was $11,500, and another to Oneidas was $5,500, with an annuity of $600 forever. Israel Smith, who settled in Sidney in 1790 on lands west of the Johnston farm, came from Brattleboro and received from the State 640 acres. Another "sufferer" who settled on a large tract in Bainbridge was Colonel Timothy Church. He had had correspondence with Governor Clinton during the Revolution on public affairs, and had taken part in the battle of Bennington. His ancestral line ran back to Hartford County. Ransom Hunt, of Otego, was also from Vermont, although he did not acquire title from the State, his tract comprising 1,800 acres. George Mumford, who came to the mouth of Cherry Valley Creek with his wife, four sons and five daughters, was from Bennington.

But the main fact is that the upper Susquehanna lands were more indebted to Connecticut than to any other part of the country. From Hebron, a town near Lebanon, men came to Franklin; to Unadilla from Hebron the four brothers Cone, and long after them their nephew, Salmon G. Cone; and to Delhi a man who was to reach much eminence in the State, Erastus Root. To Laurens from Windsor, in 1790, came Jacob Butts; to Unadilla from North Bolton Samuel Rogers and his wife, natives of East Windsor; to Cherry Valley from Chatham, Dr. Joseph White; to Sidney from Hartford County, Levi Baxter; to Sidney from Ashford, in 1798, John Avery; to Unadilla from Danbury, William Wilmot; to Morris, in 1792, from Salisbury, Jonathan Moore; to Unadilla from Norwalk, Samuel Betts; to a farm through which runs the

line between Unadilla and Butternuts, in 1810, from Fairfield County, the father of the late Judge Hezekiah Sturges; to Unadilla from New Milford, in 1800, Isaac Hayes and Curtis Noble; to Otego from Roxbury, in 1809, David Weller.

From various parts of Connecticut came others—Timothy Beach to the Ouleout, in 1784; Amos Preston and Nathan Newell to Laurens, in 1789; Jared Goodyear to Milford; William Rose to Binghamton, in 1787; Peter Bradley and Gould Bacon to Sidney; Captain Abel de Forest to Edmeston, in 1795, and many settlers to Cooperstown before the century closed. The reader who bears in mind how the most of the Connecticut towns here named were settled from the original river towns, will see the intimate relation of this movement of pioneers to Otsego County.

A reminder of this debt that will last longer than the names of individuals is found in the names of Otsego towns. Plainfield is a town in Windham County; Middlefield a town in Middlesex County, while New London County has a town named Lisbon and one named Exeter. West of the Unadilla River the fact is again to be observed in New Berlin, named from Berlin in Hartford County, and in Guilford and Norwich, ancient and well-known Connecticut names. More obvious still is the name of Windsor, which supplanted the historic name of Oghwaga*—and so might the list be extended until it became wearisome.

To Richfield in 1790 came the father of Levi Beardsley, with his wife, two brothers, and several children, including Levi, who was then four years

* Windsor was settled almost entirely from New England. In 1791 Lincklaen found there thirty families embracing about 300 souls.

old. Mr. Beardsley had purchased a tract of land of Mr. Banyar for $1.25 per acre, and came from Rensselaer County by the Mohawk Valley and the Continental road. The family settled temporarily on the Herkimer farm, at the foot of Schuyler's Lake, where were still standing "two small log-houses, more properly huts." This farm was retained for two years "for the common benefit of the colony to furnish hay and grain till we could clear the land and raise crops in Richfield."

Many persons followed this family into the country, looking for lands, and the Beardsley homes became "places of rendezvous for all comers." They generally "slept on the floor before the fire on straw beds, for we had scarcely a spare one of other description at that time." The Beardsleys finally settled on the purchase four miles west of Richfield Springs, where the Tunnicliffe family had now a second time taken up a home. One of the Tunnicliffes built a saw-mill in 1791, and in 1792 a grist-mill; Judge Jedediah Peck being the millwright, an occupation to which he added those of preacher and politician.

Meanwhile to Springfield, from the East, came Captain Samuel Crafts, and, about 1795, Matthew Halsey, who had taken part in the battle of Long Island. He was from Bridgehampton, Long Island, where his family had been settled for 150 years. In the town of Maryland settled Amos Spencer, who with his father had served in the Ninth New York militia regiment, recruited from Albany County. The family seems to have come originally from Connecticut, but afterward lived in Hillsdale, Mass. Descendants settled on the Unadilla River near Sidney, and later went to Unadilla Village.

On the Susquehanna, just east of the mouth of the Unadilla, as early as 1787 and probably before that year, land had been occupied by David Baits on what was long known as the Bundy farm. It is recorded of David Baits, that in the year 1787, when the settlement was threatened with famine, he brought a boat-load of flour up the river from Northampton, Pa. He had served in the war and bore the title of captain. He often held office in the town where he lived.

Gould Bacon settled on Stowell's Island below Afton. His name appears on the official list of those to whom New York State in 1788 gave compensation for losses in the Vermont disputes.* Stowell's Island had at least one other settler in 1786. This was Elnathan Bush, who descended the Susquehanna River in a canoe from Cooperstown. Mr. Bush afterward lived in Bainbridge. On the occasion of a freshet, in or about 1786, Mr. Bacon's farm was overflown and he retreated to the top of a tree. It was two or three days before the water receded. He had taken with him into the tree a satchel filled with provisions, but through accident he lost hold of his source of supplies and they went the way of all other things, down the stream. In the hunger that ensued, he subsisted on a raw pumpkin, caught from the flood as it passed along his way. Mr. Bacon afterward came to the Unadilla River, and lived on land since known as the Miller farm. He died a bachelor and his tombstone records that,

> He toiled for heirs he knew not whom
> And straight was seen no more.

* Another form of compensation was actual money. Out of a fund of $30,000 Gouldsborough Banyar received $7 212.

The rapidity with which lands on the Susquehanna were thus occupied is a striking illustration of the volume of immigration which set in all over the frontier and west of it as soon as the war closed. By 1820 Otsego County had a population of 44,800, nearly as large a population as it has ever had since.

III

Pioneers by Way of Wattles's Ferry

WHEN in the summer of 1784, Timothy Beach reached the Scotch Settlement at the mouth of the Ouleout he found five families living within that neighborhood. One was the family of Nathaniel Wattles, and another was named Herrick. The probability is that Nathaniel and Sluman Wattles were the first to start that stream of Connecticut migration which was to pour its tide across the hills from the Hudson at Catskill to the Susquehanna at Wattles's Ferry for the next generation. It was from Nathaniel, however, that this ferry got its name. He lived there for several years, and became an important factor in the settlement of all the country round about. He opened roads and established a hotel, and in 1797 was elected a member of the Assembly, but soon after reaching Albany he suddenly died. James Bacon of Franklin, who preached his funeral sermon eight days later, said of his pioneer work—

> He underwent many hardships in making roads and other improvements for the benefit of a new country, and broke the way for a large settlement. He came with a small interest in this country, and by honest industry accumulated a good interest and brought up, so far, nine children, the oldest of which is twenty-four and the youngest about 2 years. We cannot ascertain the advantages this benevolent man was to this western country in clearing roads and by his industry bringing many into these parts and feeding the poor.

Sluman Wattles, afterward county judge, settled on the Ouleout in the town of Franklin.* His immediate purpose in coming into the valley in 1784, was to survey and lay out in lots a large tract of land that extended from a line near the Susquehanna —probably the Wallace Patent line—southward to the Delaware. It was known as the Livingston patent. He had some interest in the tract at that time, and afterward became part owner of it. It was a portion of a tract which Colonel John and Captain Alexander Harper had purchased of the Indians before the war, and was afterward owned by a company including Peter Van Brugh Livingston, and one or both of the Harpers.

Judge Wattles and the Harpers had been acquainted in Connecticut, Windsor and Lebanon being neighboring towns. Each was of Scotch-Irish descent. As Harper had lived with men of that stock in Cherry Valley, so had Mr. Wattles, before coming to the Ouleout, lived with Scotch-Irish at a settlement near Bloomville on the Delaware. Mr. Wattles's wife was Scotch and a member of his family was married to a man in Cherry Valley. While it therefore is true that the coming of these men marked the beginning of the Connecticut stream to Wattles's Ferry, their coming was an outcome of influences exerted once more by that Scotch-Irish people who first planted settlements in the Susquehanna Valley.

While engaged in making the survey, Mr. Wattles selected a site for his home in Franklin. He

* Franklin was named after William Franklin, the natural son of Benjamin Franklin, who owned land in what is now that town. He was one of the colonial governors of New Jersey, and his father's only son. He became a Tory in the Revolution and thus embittered the old age of his father.



THE SUSQUEHANNA AT UNADILLA VILLAGE

(Site of Wattles's Ferry in the middle distance.)

erected a log house with an elm-bark roof, and brought his family from Bloomville in 1785. Besides his wife he had three children, his brother John carrying one of the children in his arms. The household goods were transported on the backs of horses, and at night they camped out in the open woods, reaching the Ouleout on the following day.

Indians still dwelt along this stream, and made claims to the judge's land. But a council soon resulted in an agreement by which his title was acknowledged after the Indians had received several presents, including a barrel of rum. For six months Mrs. Wattles never saw any white man except her husband and his brother. Wolves were numerous in the forest, and their frequent howling made the nights extremely uncomfortable.

About 1800 Judge Wattles sold his farm, and for twenty-five years afterward lived in East Sidney. He lies buried there in a rural cemetery. As a magistrate he acted for a large territory, and when Delaware County was organized became county judge. Standing at his grave in the autumn of 1891, a thought arose which remains potent still. It was that when Sluman Wattles died, he took a man's life along with him.

Not long after the arrival of Nathaniel Wattles, James Hughston, also of Lebanon, followed in his steps and settled on a farm near the bridge that crosses the Ouleout, just above its mouth. His wife came on horseback, with a bed and other articles strapped to a horse behind her. For her first child she utilized a piece of a hollow tree, or a sap trough, as a cradle. Mr. Hughston served as a magistrate in Sidney for about forty years. He was also supervisor for several terms, and was once elected

to the Legislature. He was the father of Jonas A. Hughston,* and died in 1846. Later settlements along the Ouleout were made by Stephen Dewey, who came in 1797, Captain Oliver Gager, Nathaniel Wolcott, and Josiah Thatcher.

Timothy Beach before coming to the valley had settled on a farm in Connecticut, after giving up a life at sea, during which he had once been shipwrecked and had fallen among pirates. He set out for the Susquehanna with a son twelve years of age, leaving the Hudson at Catskill, where a few families were living. He crossed the wilderness to the Susquehanna, the distance nearly 100 miles, and had a half-breed Indian for his guide.

From Cairo Mr. Beach followed the Potawa trail on horseback through "a wilderness of the most hideous description," tenanted by deer, panthers, and wolves, with which they had more than one encounter. At last the travellers reached the Susquehanna, where Nathaniel Wattles, says Priest, "kept a skiff for the accommodation of those who wished to cross and recross." They started down the river and on reaching a point near the site of Bainbridge, Mr. Beach had a dream in which his father warned him against going further. His intention had been to settle in Oghwaga, but he concluded now to return to the Ferry.

Mr. Beach had a considerable sum of money on his person, and his son had unguardedly made this fact known to the Indian guide. Other Indians, in consequence, had now appeared on the shore. The guide gave a loud outcry, causing them to rush into the water toward Mr. Beach's boat. Mr. Beach

* Member of Congress in 1855–1856, and afterward United States Marshal at Shanghai, China, where he died in 1862.

met them in a friendly way and gave them a keg of rum, with which they went ashore, where they were soon reduced to a state of unconsciousness. Under cover of a terrific thunderstorm, Mr. Beach got safely away. By daybreak he and his son had pushed the boat up the stream to the mouth of Carr's Creek. From this point they proceeded on foot through the dripping forest, and secured the aid of Mr. Wattles in bringing the boat over the remaining distance.

At the Ferry Mr. Beach met Richard and Daniel Ogden, who were making a tour of exploration, and decided to settle at that place. Selecting some land he returned to Connecticut, travelling on horseback through the woods with his boy behind him. In November he began his return journey to Wattles's Ferry with his family, choosing the route by the Continental road and Otsego Lake. They camped one night on the site of Cooperstown, and at the mouth of Cherry Valley Creek met a party of Indians on their way to hunting grounds. When they reached their destination, they "discovered the remnants of a few log-houses tumbled to ruins, said to have been the habitations of a few Scotch settlers who had penetrated the wilderness before the revolution."

The trees were now bare of leaves, late autumn having set in. "Exactly opposite this situation," says Priest, in his narrative, which is given as Beach's own story, "stood a lofty mountain, exceedingly steep and thickly timbered with evergreen pines, the haunt of panthers, bears and wolves, while at its base meandered the Susquehanna." Around the few log-houses were small clearings with sugar-maples plentiful in the adjacent forest. In one of the houses, signs of occupation were seen. A half loaf of bread, baked from pounded corn, was lying on

a table made from a split log, while near the door stood the stump of a tree that had been hollowed out at the top for use in pounding corn with a pestle. Soon the occupants returned. They were white men, hunters, and had a deer, which Mr. Beach and his family were invited to share with them. In one of the other log-huts was found the skeleton of a man named Skillings, who had been killed by the Indians.

The second year after his arrival, Mr. Beach found near the river a large chest filled with various domestic articles, including three linen spinning wheels and two flax hatchels, which had been hidden by former settlers. Priest says that much ironware had been buried "at the upper end of Unadilla Village near the water's edge." Mr. Beach met with an untimely fate. The third year after he arrived he was conveying a man with a blacksmith's kit of tools down the river in a canoe, during high water, and when near the place where his father had appeared to him in a dream on his first visit, the canoe was upset and he was drowned. His body was found some twenty miles further down the stream and buried five miles below the site of Binghamton. By this time, a considerable increase had been made in the population of the valley. Mills had been erected, schools started, and doctors and merchants had arrived.

Mr. Beach came during the same year that the Johnstons returned. Of the five families he found none had been on the ground more than a few months. The land he took up was long afterward known as the John M. Betts farm. He had a brother named Ebenezer, who was one of the first settlers in the woods back of Catskill—"a man," says Priest,

" of great activity and benevolence of nature like his brother." Although Timothy came to the Susquehanna from Weston, Conn., his family was an ancient one in Stratford. Descendants still live in Franklin and Walton. A son was William Beach, known familiarly as " Pump " Beach, who led a nomadic sort of life as a pedler, and writer of rude verse.

At Wattles's Ferry stood a hotel and perhaps a store, the usual pioneer promises that a town would grow up. But other men soon arrived, by whom it was determined that the village for this neighborhood should lie on the other side of the river. Nature, indeed, aided them, for there was found a stream flowing into the Susquehanna which provided power for mills, the stream called Martin Brook. The men who founded this settlement across the river, that was to take the name of Unadilla Village, one of the most beautiful of smaller villages in that part of the country, were from Connecticut. Eminent among them were Daniel Bissell, Guido L. Bissell, Solomon Martin, and Gurdon Huntington, some of whom arrived as early as 1790.

Each of these men, in a different way, was a fine example of the New England pioneer who abandoned the comforts of his native locality and went westward to subdue forests and found thriving villages. Here at Unadilla they purchased large tracts of land, built houses, grist and saw mills, opened a hotel, started a store, and erected a school-house. The house which Gurdon Huntington built still stands in the centre of the village in its original condition, and on its original site, the oldest structure in all that neighborhood.

Ten years after these men came, an old primitive road to Catskill was converted into a turnpike. The tide of immigration then set in with new vigor. Two important men who came from Connecticut in 1800 were Isaac Hayes and Curtis Noble. They became frontier merchants, large minded, enterprising, and popular, and in the course of a few years were masters of an extensive trade up and down the valley, and embracing the hill-country to the north and south. A kind of flat-bottom boat called an ark conveyed to the Chesapeake the produce of the country, and from New York, over the turnpike, they brought into the valley such articles in general use as the pioneers could not themselves produce. Four years later came Stephen Benton from Sheffield, Mass. He opened another store and became a large factor in frontier life. Next arrived from Chester, Conn., Sherman Page, a lawyer who rose to local eminence as a judge and twice went to Congress.

Once the stream to Wattles's Ferry had set in, it flowed strong and full. Trails and marked trees were at first the only guides across from Catskill, but each pioneer had done something to cut away the brush and mark out the better paths. No wagon, however, penetrated as far as the ferry until 1787. When the pioneer bound for places further west had reached the river, the remaining distance proved less difficult, for here he could secure a "battoe." Colonel William Rose, the pioneer of Binghamton, came by this route. Before him, Joseph Leonard had made the first white settlement in Binghamton, coming up from the Wyoming Valley; but Colonel Rose followed him two weeks later, taking the wilderness route to Wattles's Ferry. Indians

were often seen by him on his journey down the river.

In the same year, came the family of Mr. Whitney, founder of Whitney's Point, who has left a record of the settlements he observed along the way. Thirteen miles out from Catskill were the two families of Joseph Shaw and Captain Trowbridge, both of whom afterward went on to Binghamton. Ten miles further on they found a single white man. From thence to Windham they passed one or two families. Another thirteen miles brought them to the home of two brothers, and three miles further to the home of Mr. Moore. Harpersfield, in which were dwelling five or six families, lay twenty miles beyond this point. In Franklin they found a small settlement, and between the Ouleout and the mouth of the Unadilla a few families.

Only an Indian trail existed westward from this point. The Whitneys had come into the country with a wagon as far as the ferry, and were the first persons who attempted the use of one in this wilderness. It was not until the winter of 1788 that a sleigh could be drawn as far down the river as Binghamton. Until 1790, settlers at Binghamton came to Wattles's Ferry to get their corn ground. The mill at East Sidney, built by Abraham Fuller, early in the war, or just before it, owned later in the century by Silas Bennett, and afterward called Dibble's Mills, long supplied patrons from very distant places.

Early settlers in Tioga County came in 1791 on foot to Wattles's Ferry from Stockbridge, Mass., with packs on their backs. Owego was settled in 1786 by a man who entered from Otsego Lake. Settlers on the Genesee often arrived by Wattles's Ferry. One of the Binghamton pioneers was a man named

Dickinson, who brought with him a boy destined to distinction as Daniel S. Dickinson. It would be easy to multiply instances of men, the founders of large and flourishing towns in Southern and Western New York, who penetrated the wilderness by the highway that had Wattles's Ferry for the terminus of travel by foot or horse and the beginning of travel by boat.

IV

William Cooper, of Cooperstown

1785

WILLIAM COOPER, the father of the novelist, wishing to learn the boundaries of lands in which he had an interest, came to Otsego Lake in 1785, accompanied by a party of surveyors. These lands were those which George Croghan had secured in 1768, as compensation for lands lost elsewhere under the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Croghan had mortgaged them to William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, and in default of payment judgments of foreclosure had been obtained against him. The title by various deeds of assignment afterward passed to Mr. Cooper and Andrew Craig, both of Burlington, N. J.

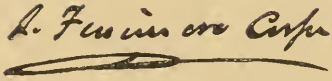
Mr. Cooper arrived in the autumn by way of Cherry Valley, and obtained his first sight of the lake, which his son was to celebrate as Glimmerglass, from the top of a tree on the hill east of Cooperstown known as Mt. Vision. In the following spring he induced several families to settle on his land. One of these was Israel Guild, and another was John Miller. William Ellison and a widow named Johnson were among others who soon came. Mr. Cooper brought his wife into the country for a visit in 1787. He drove in a chaise from the Mohawk

to the head of the lake, and went down the lake in a canoe. Mrs. Johnson erected a frame house in 1786, which was used as a hotel. In 1786 William Abbott arrived, and then James White.

By the summer of 1787, the most of the Cooper lands about the lake had been taken up, many of the settlers coming from Connecticut. Mr. Cooper built a house for himself in 1789, and in October, 1790, brought his family into the country, the household, including the servants, numbering fifteen, and the youngest member of it an infant destined to wide literary fame.* The settlement in 1790 is estimated to have embraced thirty-five other inhabitants, and by 1791 to have had twenty houses and stores, with 100 inhabitants. Richard R. Smith, son of Richard Smith, of the Otego patent, in the winter of 1789–1790, opened the first store. A court-house and jail had been built in 1791. Mr. Smith was the first sheriff of the county. From his father, in 1793, he acquired title to a tract of land on the lake, the same being a part of the Croghan patent. Fenimore Cooper says the settlement in 1795 had fifty buildings—an incongruous group from which "rose the mansion of the judge, towering above all its neighbors." Fruit-trees, which the Indians had cultivated, were already "beginning to assume the moss

* No authorized life of James Fenimore Cooper has been written, it having been his wish that none should be. But an excellent substitute, in the form of a biographical essay or study, has been published by Professor Lounsbury, the note in which it is written being seen in its final passage as follows: "America has had several authors, gifted with higher spiritual insight than he, with broader and juster views of life, with finer ideals of literary art, and, above all, with far greater delicacy of taste. But she counts on the scanty roll of her men of letters, the name of no one who acted from purer patriotism or loftier principles. She finds among them all no manlier nature and no more heroic soul." Cooper died at the age of sixty-two, having spent about thirty-seven years of his life in Cooperstown.





(From an engraving, by J. B. Forrest, of a miniature by H. Chilton.)

and inclination of age." William Cooper's later residence, the Elizabethan mansion called Otsego Hall, was erected in 1797–1799.*

An early storekeeper was a Frenchman named F. Z. Le Quoy, or Le Quoy de Mersereau, who had been Governor of the French Island of Martinique in the West Indies. By a curious coincidence M. Renouard, who had settled several miles to the westward, one day in 1793 while in Cooperstown, entered M. Le Quoy's store to purchase some tobacco and, astonished to find that he knew the proprietor, walked out in an indignant state of mind. While Governor of Martinique, Le Quoy, it appears, had refused to confirm the appointment of Renouard as port captain of St. Pierre, and an estrangement was the result.†

Very little has been known by the general public, of William Cooper. The cyclopædias have almost entirely neglected him. That he founded the town which bears his name; that he dealt largely in frontier lands; that he was the first judge of Otsego County—these facts have been familiar, but they

* R. Monroe Smith erroneously says Richard Smith of the Otego patent built this mansion, lived in it for some years, called it Smith Hall, and sold it to Cooper, who "changed the name to Otsego Hall." Smith Hall stood elsewhere. In a deed from Richard Smith to Samuel Albro for land in lot 44 of the Otego patent, dated October 3, 1795, and among Mr. Coad's papers, Smith is described as "of Smith Hall in the township of Unadilla." Cooperstown, then as now, was in the township of Otsego. Smith Hall really stood in what is now the town of Laurens, then a part of the town of Unadilla. The house was still standing a few years ago.

† It is quite possible that Le Quoy had made the acquaintance of a beautiful daughter of Martinique named Josephine de La Pagerie who, after her first husband, the Viscount de Beauharnais, had been guillotined in Paris during the Reign of Terror, became the wife of Napoleon Bonaparte. Josephine was born in Martinique in 1763. She remained there until 1778, when she went to France. In 1787 she returned to Martinique, remaining three years, nursing her aged mother. After the French Revolution began, she returned to Paris; and Le Quoy, about the same time, came to New York, whence he went to Cooperstown.

practically stand alone. William Cooper was more than a capable frontiersman, who reared a son destined to become famous. He was himself a man of intelligence, gifted, and cultivated. His mind had breadth, acuteness, and force. He knew how to write, and wrote with grace and power.

Near the close of his life, or about 1800, he wrote a series of letters concerning his work in the settlement of the New York frontier and in 1810 they were published in Dublin, where their purpose appears to have been to promote immigration. From these letters many things are apparent, and the most striking is that Judge Cooper was a much larger factor in the settlement, not only of Otsego County, but of several other counties in this State beyond Otsego, than has commonly been supposed. With an honest pride, he recalled that "there are 40,000 souls now holding land, directly or indirectly, under me." He had "already settled more acres than any man in America." Judge Cooper succeeded in this work when others had failed. His mind was practical and far-sighted, his spirit liberal. The man had a genius for bringing men together in the wilderness and making them prosper.

The reader may also learn from these letters that Fenimore Cooper's literary gifts came to him by inheritance. His father wrote with a command of himself, a mastery of expression, a clearness and power which, if not at all rare in literature, certainly come to us in these letters as a delightful surprise. Fenimore Cooper's use of English has been admired, with qualifications. It is obvious that he was not a supreme master of style. He was somewhat wanting in literary feeling. The things admired in his books have been admired, in spite of certain

defects, as pure literature. But the novelist's father had style. There is hardly a line in these letters that one would blot out or change. They fit the purpose and hold the attention. Nothing in them has been carelessly done.

The extracts printed below show something of the work this pioneer did for Otsego and other counties, and something of the life amid which Fenimore Cooper spent his childhood and youth—in that distant wilderness where Leather Stocking fished in the waters of the lake, and hunted in the still forests that covered the Otsego hills.

I began with the disadvantage of a small capital, and the encumbrance of a large family, and yet I have already settled more acres than any man in America. I am now descending the vale of life, and I must acknowledge that I look back with self-complacency upon what I have done, and am proud of having been an instrument in reclaiming such large and fruitful tracts from the waste of creation. And I question whether that sensation is not now a recompense more grateful to me than all the other profits I have reaped.

In 1785 I visited the rough and hilly country of Otsego, where there existed not an inhabitant, nor any trace of a road; I was alone, 300 miles from home, without bread, meat, or food of any kind; fire and fishing tackle were my only means of subsistence. I caught trout in the brook and roasted them on the ashes. My horse fed on the grass that grew by the edge of the waters. I laid me down to sleep in my watch coat, nothing but the melancholy wilderness around me. In this way I explored the country, formed my plans of future settlement, and meditated upon the spot where a place of trade or a village should afterward be established.

In May, 1786, I opened the sales of 40,000 acres, which in sixteen days were all taken up by the poorest order of men. I soon after established a store, and went

to live among them, and continued so to do till 1790, when I brought on my family. For the ensuing four years the scarcity of provisions was a serious calamity; the country was mountainous, and there were neither roads nor bridges.

But the greatest discouragement was in the extreme poverty of the people, none of whom had the means of clearing more than a small spot in the midst of the thick and lofty woods, so that their grain grew chiefly in the shade; their maize did not ripen, their wheat was blasted, and the little they did gather they had no mill to grind within twenty miles' distance; not one in twenty had a horse, and the way lay through rapid streams, across swamps, or over bogs. They had neither provisions to take with them nor money to purchase them; nor if they had, were any to be found on their way. If the father of a family went abroad to labor for bread, it cost him three times its value before he could bring it home, and all the business on his farm stood still till his return.

I resided among them, and saw too clearly how bad their condition was. I erected a storehouse, and during each Winter filled it with large quantities of grain, purchased in distant places. I procured from my friend, Henry Drinker, a credit for a large quantity of sugar kettles; he also lent me some potash kettles, which we conveyed as best we could, sometimes by partial roads on sleighs, and sometimes over the ice. By this means I established potash works among the settlers, and made them debtor for their bread and laboring utensils. I also gave them credit for their maple sugar and potash, at a price that would bear transportation, and the first year after the adoption of this plan I collected in one mass 43 hogsheads of sugar and 300 barrels of pot and pearl ash, worth about $9,000. This kept the people together and at home, and the country soon assumed a new face.

I had not funds of my own sufficient for the opening of new roads, but I collected the people at convenient seasons, and by joint efforts we were able to throw bridges over



OTSEGO HALL, COOPERSTOWN

(The home of J. Fenimore Cooper.)

(Built by Cooper's father in 1797-99; improved by Cooper in 1834; destroyed by fire in 1853; the grounds now a village park.)

the deep streams, and to make, in the cheapest manner, such roads as suited our then humble purposes.

Of the famine which arose in 1789, and which Judge Cooper relieved, the following account is given:

In the Winter preceding the Summer of 1789, grain rose in Albany to a price before unknown. The demand swept all the granaries of the Mohawk country. The number of beginners who depended upon it for their bread greatly aggravated the evil, and a famine ensued which will never be forgotten by those who, though now in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, were then afflicted with the cruelest of wants.

In the month of April, I arrived among them with several loads of provisions, destined for my own use and that of the laborers I had brought with me for certain necessary operations; but in a few days all was gone, and there remained not one pound of salt meat, nor a single biscuit. Many were reduced to such distress as to live upon the root of wild leeks; some more fortunate lived upon milk, whilst others supported nature by drinking a syrup made of maple sugar and water. The quantity of leeks they eat had such an effect upon their breath that they could be smelled at many paces distant, and when they came together it was like cattle that had been pastured in a garlic field. A man of the name of Beets mistaking some poisonous herb for a leek, eat it, and died in consequence. Judge of my feelings at this epoch, with 200 families about me and not a morsel of bread.

A singular event seemed sent by a good Providence to our relief; it was reported to me that unusual shoals of fish were seen moving in the clear waters of the Susquehanna. I went, and was surprised to find that they were herrings. We made something like a small net, by the interweaving of twigs, and by this rude and simple contrivance we were able to take them in thousands. In less than ten days each

family had an ample supply, with plenty of salt. I also obtained from the Legislature, then in session, 1,700 bushels of corn. This we packed on horses' backs, and on our arrival made a distribution among the families, in proportion to the number of individuals of which each was composed.

V

Jacob Morris and Talleyrand's Visit

1787–1795

A FRIEND and associate of William Cooper was General Jacob Morris, an early pioneer on the Butternut Creek. He had been an officer in the Revolution, on the staff of the disgraced General Charles Lee, and had served at the battle of Monmouth, where Lee's ignominious retreat nearly lost the day. General Morris arrived by way of Otsego Lake in 1787, and on the way fell in with commissioners, going out to run the line between New York and Pennsylvania. In a published letter he says that, at a place twenty miles down the Susquehanna, he met one of the Cullys whom he had engaged to visit the Butternut Creek, and report on his lands. Here General Morris, for eight gallons of rum, purchased a bateau, and on June 14th arrived with his goods at the mouth of the Unadilla River. The next day he "proceeded up the Unadilla about eight miles and camped up the Butternut Creek about two miles that evening, being the first white man that ever attempted its navigation." General Morris is, of course, in error here, the valley of the Butternut Creek having been settled before the Revolution. His statement gives interesting evi-

dence of the oblivion and desolation which the Border Wars had spread over the early settlements on the head waters of the Susquehanna.

General Morris thought the creek a beautiful stream. "I do solemnly declare," he said, "it is the handsomest navigable creek I ever laid my eyes upon." He decided to build a frame house, instead of a log one, as it would cost very little more, and a log-house was "eternally out of repair, sinking upon the door and window frames and always a dirty house." One of the first frame structures in the town must have been this house of General Morris, which a few years ago was still standing. He settled at the north end of the patent granted to his father, Lewis, and his uncle, Richard, to indemnify them for property destroyed by the British. This property was on the estate of Morrisania, now a part of New York City, in the Borough of the Bronx. Originally the Morris patent, as already seen, had been granted to Lewis Morris's brother, Staats Long Morris, but he was now a British officer and the State was appealed to in 1785 for a new grant to other members of the family.

Lewis Morris had been one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. At the time of the signing, a large British force had landed within a few miles of Morrisania, and a short distance away ships of war were anchored. More than a thousand acres of fine wood land are said to have been ruthlessly burned. His dwelling was attacked and injured, the family were driven out, the stock was seized, and tenants and servants were sent away. From that time until the evacuation of New York by the British, the family of Lewis Morris suffered many hardships from loss of property and the ruin

of their home, and this tract of forest land, known as the Morris patent, was given as compensation for their loss.

Jacob Morris was born in Morrisania in 1755. He therefore made his way to the Unadilla River, when thirty-three years old. His father had intended him for a merchant, but on the outbreak of the war he offered his services to the American cause, and became an aide-de-camp to General Charles Lee. With Lee he went south, and is said to have served with credit at Fort Moultrie and elsewhere before the disastrous defeat at Monmouth. He was at one time attached to the staff of General Nathaniel Greene. When peace ensued, he returned to New York City, and was elected to the Legislature, serving as Senator and Assemblyman. When he came down the Susquehanna, nearly sixty years of life were before him, during which he was to become one of the leading men in Otsego County.

Some of his activities were absorbed in what are known as "the political wars of Otsego Co." General Morris and Judge Cooper were the Federalist leaders and Jedediah Peck the Democratic leader. Peck is described by Beardsley as an indomitable Democrat, a preacher as well as a man of affairs, illiterate, but shrewd and wary. As a judge, however, his conduct was exemplary and honorable.

Wide interest for a time was taken in these "wars." They grew out of the election for governor in 1792. John Jay, although chosen on the face of the returns, was, by the action of the canvassers for Otsego and two other counties, declared defeated, and George Clinton took office in his place. Rufus King and Aaron Burr, the United States senators from New York, gave opposite opinions of the legal points in-

volved. Alexander Hamilton corresponded with King in regard to the dispute, counselling peaceful submission.

Mrs. Jay in writing a letter to her husband at the time, referred to the canvassers as having "taken upon them to give the people a governor of their election, not the one the people preferred," and added "people are running in continually, to vent their vexation. Poor Jacob Morris looks quite disconsolate." Jay himself viewed the matter with philosophy and patriotism. "In a few years," he wrote to his wife, "we shall all be laid in the dust and then it will be of more importance to me to have governed myself than to have governed the state."

Contemporary with Morris as a pioneer, or nearly so, was Abijah Gilbert, who settled at Gilbertsville. He kept the first hotel. William Musson opened the first shoe store, and Abijah Gilbert and Joseph Shaw, built the first grist mill. Mr. Gilbert came from Warwickshire, England, that beautiful land in which lies the famed village of Stratford, where 300 years before a writer of immortal works first opened his eyes.

Many pioneers on the Susquehanna might have seen riding on horseback, in the late summer of 1795, a Dutch gentleman and two Frenchmen. One of the Frenchmen had recently arrived from England, and was best known as a former bishop of Autun—the gentleman whom Carlyle described as "his irreverent reverence of Autun," and now better known as Talleyrand. The other was named Beaumetz. Talleyrand had left France as one of that large body of *émigrés* whom the Reign of Terror forced out of their native land.

On going to England, he had been expelled

from the country, and while waiting for his ship at Falmouth had chanced to meet another famous exile named Benedict Arnold, who was then under sentence of death. Talleyrand on hearing that Arnold was an American, though ignorant of his name, asked him for letters of introduction in America. Arnold replied: "I am perhaps the only American who cannot give you letters for his own country. All the relations I had there are broken off. I must never return to the United States." Talleyrand, who reports this reply, adds that Arnold "dared not tell me his name."

Some thirty months were spent by Talleyrand in this country, the winter being passed in New York and Philadelphia, "without any other aim," he wrote, "than that of being away from either France or England, and impelled by the sole interest of seeing with my own eyes the great American nation whose history is only beginning." The summers he spent in travel through the interiors of New York, Connecticut, and other States, visiting among other places the upper Susquehanna Valley on horseback.

Samuel Breck, who met Talleyrand in New York before he and Beaumetz set out on their journey, says Talleyrand had a rifleman's suit made for the occasion, and remarks the "pride and delight" with which the ex-Bishop of Autun displayed it. Several days and perhaps a week are believed by Wilkinson to have been spent where now stands Binghamton. A visit was also made to some Frenchmen who had settled in Greene. Talleyrand spent a few days at Cooperstown as the guest of Judge Cooper, and an acrostic on the Judge's daughter, printed in the Otsego *Herald* for October 2, 1795, is ascribed to him.

Talleyrand's Susquehanna visit seems to have been

a direct outcome of his acquaintance with Gouverneur Morris, an uncle of Jacob Morris, whom he had known intimately in Paris, where Morris was for a time a conspicuous political figure. It was also at Gouverneur Morris's suggestion that three French princes in those years visited this country, receiving in their temporary distress advances of money from him for their expenses. They went to the Genesee country, where Morris was interested in land. One of them was that Duke of Orleans who afterward rose to be King of France, under the name of Louis Philippe. Returning from the Genesee country they went down the Susquehanna from Tioga Point in a bateau to Harrisburgh. The full story of their inland tour has never yet been told, even in French, else we should know whether they also came into Otsego County for the purpose of seeing the nephew of their benefactor. That Talleyrand visited General Morris is next door to a certainty, for he went to Cooperstown. Talleyrand, as well as the French princes, may have had financial aid from Gouverneur Morris.

During his journey Talleyrand says his mind was "neither free nor active enough to induce me to write a book." But we have in his memoirs several interesting passages that refer to his wilderness journey, and among them these:

I made up my mind to leave Philadelphia, and therefore proposed to M. de Beaumetz * and to a Dutch gentleman of the name of Heydecoper to travel inland with me. They both accepted, and I must confess that I was pleased with the undertaking from the beginning. I was struck with

* Beaumetz had been a member of the States General at the outbreak of the French Revolution, but he emigrated in 1792. He finally died in India.

astonishment; at less than 154 miles' distance from the capital, all trace of men's presence disappeared; Nature, in all her primeval vigor, confronted us; forests old as the world itself; decayed plants and trees covering the very ground where they once grew in luxuriance; others shooting forth from under the débris of the former, and like them destined to decay and rot; thick and intricate bushes that often barred our progress; green and luxuriant grass decking the banks of rivers; large, natural meadows; strange and delicate flowers quite new to me; and here and there the traces of former tornadoes that had carried everything before them. Enormous trees all mowed down in the same direction, extending for a considerable distance, bear witness to the wonderful force of these phenomena.

On reaching higher ground, our eyes wandered as far as the sight could range over a most varied and pleasant picture. The tops of trees and the undulations of the ground, which alone interfere with the uniform aspect of large extents of country, produce a peculiar effect. In the face of these immense solitudes, we gave free bent to our imaginations; our minds built cities, villages and hamlets; the mountain forests were to remain untouched; the slopes of the hills to be covered with luxuriant crops, and we could almost fancy we saw numerous herds of cattle grazing in the valley under our eyes. There is an inexpressible charm in thinking of the future when travelling in such countries.

To be riding through a large wild forest, to lose one's way in it in the middle of the night, and to call to one's companion in order to ascertain that you are not missing each other; all this gives impressions impossible to define, because each incident reflects comically on the others. When I cried, "So-and-so, are you here?" and my companion replied, "Unfortunately I am, My Lord," I could not help laughing at our position. That "unfortunately I am" so pitifully uttered, and that "My Lord" in allusion to the Autun bishopric, sounded most ludicrous.

Talleyrand returned to Europe early in 1797. Affairs in France were then to undergo the historic

change ushered in by young Napoleon Bonaparte's "whiff of grapeshot." Talleyrand at once threw himself into that flood tide by which men were led on to great fortunes, and eventually won for himself wide celebrity as the chief adviser of Napoleon and the first diplomatist in Europe.

VI

Churches Father Nash and Others Founded

1795–1809

AFTER the Revolution, missionaries speedily followed the pioneers, but the actual organization of churches—except that Cherry Valley still maintained the church founded with the settlement of the place—did not begin until the century had nearly closed. Early on the list were the Baptist church in Morris, organized in August 1793, and the Baptist church in Franklin, over which the Rev. Mr. Bacon was presiding in 1799. Soon afterward a Presbyterian church was established in Sidney. The faiths which Englishmen know as Nonconformist naturally were the first to start religious societies among frontier settlements, founded mainly by New England and Scotch-Irish folks.

At Cooperstown, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists founded a society in 1798, and in 1800 had secured a regular pastor; but as early as 1795 what was called The First Religious Society of the Town of Otsego was formed, with Elisha Moseley as minister for six months, and out of this is believed to have grown the society of 1798. To about the same period belongs the organization of the Presbyterian church of Oneonta, of which the first pastor was the Rev. Alexander Conkey. In the village of Morris a Presbyterian church was organized as "The first Presbyterian Church of

Unadilla," Morris as well as several other towns in Otsego County being then a part of the town of Unadilla.

Some time before 1796, an Episcopal minister, Daniel Burhans, D.D., had made a tour of the valley and visited various remote settlements. At Morris, in 1793, had been organized an Episcopal church, and in this work Dr. Burhans probably had some share. Dr. Burhans was a native of Connecticut, and had spent his youth in New Milford, one of the few Connecticut towns where Episcopalianism, after trial enough, had secured a foothold. Becoming a teacher, he had settled in New Lebanon, Columbia County, N. Y., not far from Catskill. Dr. Burhans before 1796 had made a tour of the upper Susquehanna, returning with a conviction that a promising field existed for active missionary work by the Episcopal Church.

He finally prevailed on the principal of the academy at New Lebanon, Daniel Nash, to prepare for orders and proceed into the country to continue the work. A native of Great Barrington, Mass., Daniel Nash had been graduated from Yale College in 1785, and for the next ten years had been principal of academies in New York and New Jersey. He had been reared a Congregationalist, but in 1797, after two years of preparation, was ordained an Episcopal deacon in St. George's Chapel in New York, by Bishop Provost, the first Bishop of New York, and a priest in 1801, by Bishop Moore. From 1797 until his death, Father Nash labored with great zeal as a missionary and acquired the official title of Rector of the Churches in Otsego County.

The supreme testimony to Father Nash's devotion and practical talents for church building, seems

to lie in the fact that he was able on such territory to succeed at all. Before his arrival, as we have seen, the upper Susquehanna settlements had been dominated by the faith of Calvin, not only since the Revolution, but before it. Indeed one cannot find anywhere a trace of Episcopal influence in the valley before he and Dr. Burhans began their work. Such influence prevailed along the Mohawk, but never on the Susquehanna. Outside of the Scotch-Irish, nine-tenths of the pioneers from 1784 until 1810 were from New England, and mainly from Connecticut, the home of Congregationalism. Nothing is more remarkable about them than the fidelity with which, on the new soil, they preserved the habits, customs, and faith of their older home.

Father Nash came into the valley with his wife for companion in his work, and this she remained through all his labors. They lived in rude cabins of unhewn logs, having scarcely a pane of glass at the windows and only a single room. In 1797 Philander Chase, who was afterward a bishop, made him a visit while on a tour of missionary observation in Central New York. Chase had succeeded Robert G. Wetmore, who had already labored along the head waters of the Delaware and Unadilla rivers, and from ill-health had been forced to retire. Bishop Chase says he helped Father Nash "carry his little articles of crockery, holding one handle of the basket, and Mr. Nash the other, and as they walked the road, talked of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." Even the log-cabin he lived in, was not his own. "Nor was he permitted," says Chase, "to live in one for a long time together." When it became necessary to change his residence, "he had not the means to move substances from one

cabin to another, except with his own hands, assisted only by his wife and his small children, and a passing missionary." The doors of the cabin had wooden hinges, creaking as they were turned. While the children built the fire, Mrs. Nash prepared the food for the bishop and the family. Of his wife's share in his religious work, Father Nash himself has written:

> Often she gave me a child and then got on the horse behind me with another in her arms, and thus we would go to public worship for a number of miles. She excelled in music and I understood it all. When the congregations did not well understand how to make the responses she always did it in a solemn manner.

A house in which Father Nash often conducted services was that of Percefer Carr, in Edmeston, the pre-Revolutionary settler and friend of Brant, who had been driven from his home by the Oneida Indians, and afterward had returned to it. Father Nash's labors in Otsego County lacked but one year of embracing a period of forty years. As late as 1835 he preached in Butternuts, Richfield, and New Lisbon. In Judge Cooper he had a valuable friend. Fenimore Cooper knew him well, and has given an instructive picture of his life and times in the "Pioneers," where he appears as the Rev. Mr. Grant.

Many churches in Otsego County were the direct outcome of Father Nash's influence, and among these was St. Matthew's church of Unadilla. Except for him the latter church must have been a Presbyterian organization. The settlers in Unadilla, with scarcely an exception, were from Connecticut and Massachusetts. Many had already contributed liberally to the support of a Calvinistic church in

Sidney, among them men who were afterward associated with the founding of St. Matthew's.

This church was founded, not so much in the interest of any particular denomination, as to promote good order in the community. In its growing prosperity the new settlement had been suffering from vigorous energy unrestrained by moral influences. The ease with which licenses were obtained, the cheapness of whiskey, and the remoteness from centres of authority, had led to wild and free life, and the order-loving men from Connecticut had become eager to set up an influence which should check the growth of disorder. What, in other places, and notably in Meredith, took the form of a ringing protest from a "law and order committee," in Unadilla took the form of a church founded in 1809.

Similar conditions in other communities may have aided him in his work, but his own personality, his pious zeal, his apostolic sincerity and simplicity, were the main factors in his extraordinary success. Dr. Burhans once said that Father Nash had done more to establish and extend the Episcopal Church "than any other clergyman ever did in the United States"—surely an exalted tribute to a man laboring in such conditions. Father Nash spent the remainder of his life in Otsego County, dying in Burlington at the home of his son-in-law in 1836. With his wife, he was buried some years later in the churchyard of Christ Church, in Cooperstown, beneath the shade of a noble pine-tree—a place he had himself chosen for the purpose. His grave, with that of his wife, remains a familiar spot in that burial ground. It is marked by an obelisk of marble, on which appears the name "Father Nash," the name Daniel being omitted. Under Father Nash, Christ

Church was organized in 1811. Within its grounds, and not far from Father Nash, also lies buried Fenimore Cooper.*

Father Nash's memory has been deservedly honored in the shire town of Otsego. No Otsego pioneer deserves honor more—not the road builder or the leveller of forests, not the men who fought against Brant and the Tories, not William Cooper, with his vast land enterprises. To none of these, in so large a degree can we apply with such full measure of truth, the sayings that no man liveth unto himself, and that his works do follow him. The labors of Father Nash recall nothing so forcibly as the labors of the French Jesuits among the Iroquois in the seventeenth century. Apostolic is the word for his simplicity, as well as theirs, his heroic devotion, his complete self-abnegation.

* The same enclosure contains the grave of a man who, twenty-five years ago, was prominent in the newspaper world of New York City—Ivory Chamberlin.

VII

A Great Highway

1769–1802

BEFORE the war something of a road had been cut through the woods from Otsego Lake southward along the Susquehanna, and other primitive roads led to and from the lake; but these highways had almost disappeared during the later years of the war, when Nature had done her effective work of reclamation. The one leading from the lake southward was improved in 1786 as far as Hartwick, and others were speedily taken in hand. Further down the river efforts were made to establish convenient communication with the Hudson, and out of this grew a road which eventually became the great highway for a large territory. It was called the Catskill Turnpike, and had its terminus on the Susquehanna at Wattles's Ferry.

This road, as a turnpike, properly dates from 1802, but the road itself is much older. Its eastern end had been opened long before the Revolution with a terminus in the Charlotte Valley. It seems then to have been hardly more than a narrow clearing through the forest, what farmers call a "wood road," or frontiersmen a "tote road." It served as a convenient route to the Susquehanna, because much shorter than the older route by the Mohawk Valley. Over this road on horseback in 1769, as we have seen, came Colonel Staats Long Morris and his wife, the Duchess of Gordon.

After the war demands rose for a better road, and

one was soon undertaken with its terminus at Wattles's Ferry. This terminus appears to have been chosen because the river here was deep enough to permit the use of "battoes" during the low water that prevailed in summer. By the summer of 1788 the road was in passable condition. Alexander Harper and Edward Paine in February, 1789, declared that they had been to "a very great expense in opening the roads from Catskill and the Hudson to the Susquehanna River." In the same year a petition was filed for a road "from the Ouleout to Cannadessagos" (the old Indian town near Geneva); and another in the same year in behalf of a proposed road, obviously the same, "from the Ouleout to Kyuga Lake." The road to Cayuga Lake (Ithaca) made slow progress, and in 1791 General Jacob Morris addressed to Governor Clinton a letter which shows that it was then still to be undertaken. Early in 1790 the State had taken the road to Catskill in charge. In August G. Gelston made up from surveys a map from Catskill "running westerly to the junction of the Ouleout Creek with the Susquehanna River." The country had been previously explored for the purpose by James Barker and David Laurence.*

In 1791 Sluman Wattles charged his cousin, Nathaniel Wattles, £4, 6*s*. for "carting three barrells from your house to Catskill," £1 for "five days work on the road," and 15 shillings for "inspecting road." Besides Nathaniel Wattles, Menad Hunt was interested in the work, and in 1792 the two men appealed to the State to be reimbursed for money paid out above the contract price.† During this year the father of the late Dr. Samuel H. Case,

* State Land Papers.

† Sluman Wattles's Account Book.

of Oneonta, emigrated to the upper Ouleout from Colchester, Conn., with his seven brothers. They drove cattle and sheep ahead of them, and consumed eight days in making the journey from the Hudson River. Solomon Martin went over the road in the same year, using Sluman Wattles's oxen, for which he was charged £1, 17*s*. He went to Catskill, and was gone fifteen days. This road was only twenty-five feet wide. In 1792 a regular weekly mail-route was established over it.

These are among the many roads which were opened in the neighborhood before the century closed—before the Catskill Turnpike, as a turnpike, came into existence. Nearly every part of the town of Unadilla, then embracing one-third of Otsego County, had been made accessible before the year 1800. The pioneers had taken up lands all through the hill country. But the needs of the settlers had not been fully met. All over the State prevailed similar conditions. The demands that poured in upon State and town authorities for road improvements became far in excess of what could be satisfied. Everywhere fertile lands had been cleared and sown to grain, but the crops were so enormous that they could neither be consumed at home nor transported to market elsewhere. Professor McMaster says that "the heaviest taxes that could have been laid would not have sufficed to cut out half the roads or build half the bridges" that commerce required.

Out of this condition grew the policy of granting charters to turnpike companies, formed by well-to-do land-owners, who undertook to build roads and maintain them in proper condition for the privilege of imposing tolls. Men owning land and possessed

of ready money, were everywhere eager to invest in these enterprises. They not only saw the promise of dividends, but ready sales for their lands. At one time an amount of capital almost equal to the domestic debt of the nation when the Revolution closed was thus employed throughout the country. By the year 1811, no fewer than 137 roads had been chartered in New York State alone, with a total length of 4,500 miles and a total capital of $7,500,000. About one-third of this mileage was eventually completed.

Eight turnpikes went out from Albany, and five others joined Catskill, Kingston, and Newburg with the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. The earliest of these five, and one of the earliest in the State, was the Catskill and Susquehanna turnpike, that supplanted the primitive State road to Wattles's Ferry. The old course was changed in several localities, the charter permitting the stockholders to choose their route. Among the names in the charter were John Livingston, Caleb Benton (a brother of Stephen Benton), John Kortright, Sluman Wattles, and Solomon Martin. The stock was limited to $12,000 in shares of $20 each.

The road ran through lands owned by the stockholders. Little regard was had for grades, as travellers well know. The main purpose was to make the land accessible and marketable. The road was completed in 1802, and soon became a famous highway to Central New York, and the navigable Susquehanna, and so remained for more than a quarter of a century. It was in operation four years earlier than the Great Western Turnpike, connecting Albany with Buffalo and running through Cherry Valley. Spafford in 1813 described it as "the

Appian Way turnpike," in which is seen the pride felt in it, likened as it thus was to one of the best roads ever built by man—that Roman highway which still does service after the lapse of more than 2,000 years. In one sense this turnpike was like a Roman road: it followed straight lines from point to point regardless of hills, obstacles being squarely faced and defied by these modern men as by the old Romans.

Ten toll-gates were set up along the line, with the rates as follows: for twenty sheep and hogs, eight cents; for twenty horses and cattle, twenty cents; for a horse and rider, five cents; for a horse and chaise, twelve and one-half cents; for a coach or chariot, twenty-five cents; for a stage or wagon, twelve and one-half cents. In 1804, Caleb Benton, who lived in Catskill, was president of the corporation, and in 1805 the stage business of the road was granted as a monopoly to David Bostwick, Stephen Benton, Lemuel Hotchkiss, and Terence Donnelly. Two stages were to be kept regularly on the road, the fare to be five cents per mile. A stage that left Catskill Wednesday morning reached Unadilla Friday night, and one that left Unadilla Sunday reached Catskill Tuesday. The most prosperous period for the road was the ten years from 1820 to 1830.

Two years after the road was built, Dr. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, during one of his regular vacation journeys, passed over it and stopped at Unadilla. He has left a full record of the journey. Dr. Dwight, accustomed long to the comforts of life in New England, had no sooner crossed the State line from Massachusetts to New York than he observed a change. The houses be-

came ordinary and ill repaired, and very many of them were taverns of wretched appearance.

For sixteen or eighteen miles, he saw neither church nor school-house. Catskill contained about 100 houses, and much of the business was done by barter. The turnpike to the Susquehanna he described as a "branch of the Greenwood turnpike from Hartford to Albany, commencing from Canaan in Connecticut and passing to Wattles's Ferry on the Susquehanna. Thence it is proposed to extend it to the county of Trumbull on the southern shore of Lake Erie." The road he thought "well made."

Connecticut families were found settled along the line. Now he came upon "a few lonely plantations recently begun upon the road," and then "occasionally passed a cottage, and heard the distant sound of an axe and of a human voice. All else was grandeur, gloom and solitude." At last after many miles of riding he reached a settlement "for some miles a thinly built village, composed of neat, tidy houses," in which everything "indicated prosperity." This was Franklin. Coming down the Ouleout, the country, he said, "wore a forbidding aspect, the houses being thinly scattered and many of them denoted great poverty."

When Dr. Dwight reached Wattles's Ferry, the more serious trials of his journey began. All the privations of life in a new country which he had met on the road from Catskill at last had overtaxed his patience, and he poured forth his perturbed spirit upon this infant settlement. When he made a second visit a few years later he liked the place much better. His first impressions are chronicled at some length. He says:

When we arrived at the Susquehanna we found the only inn-keeper, at the Eastern side of the river, unable to furnish us a dinner. To obtain this indispensable article we were obliged therefore to cross the river. The ferry-boat was gone. The inhabitants had been some time employed in building a bridge, but it was unfinished and impassable. There was nothing left us, therefore, but to cross a deep and rapid ford. Happily the bottom was free from rocks and stones.

Dr. Dwight appears to have found no satisfactory stopping-place in Unadilla, and proceeds to say:

About four miles from the ferry we came to an inn kept by a Scotchman named Hanna. Within this distance we called at several others, none of which could furnish us a dinner. I call them inns because this name is given them by the laws of the State, and because each of them hangs out a sign challenging this title. But the law has nicknamed them, and the signs are liars.

It is said, and I suppose truly, that in this State any man who will pay for an inn-keeper's license obtains one of course. In consequence of this practice the number of houses which bear the appellation is already enormous. Too many of them are mere dramshops of no other use than to deceive, disappoint and vex travellers and to spread little circles of drunkenness throughout the State. A traveller after passing from inn to inn in a tedious succession finds that he can get nothing for his horse and nothing for himself.

The remedy he prescribed for this was to license "only one inn where there are five or six." The evil was general. In 1810 the people of Meredith made a formal and vigorous protest against the growth of intemperance and crime as caused by public houses. There were ten hotels in that town alone, besides a number of distilleries. Many citizens banded themselves in behalf of order and decency,

and their protest abounded in an energy of language that would have delighted the soul of Dr. Dwight. Of his further experience at Mr. Hanna's hotel, he says:

We at length procured a dinner and finding no house at a proper distance where we could be lodged concluded to stay where we were. Our fare was indeed bad enough, but we were sheltered from the weather. Our inn-keeper besides furnishing us with such other accommodations as his home afforded, added to it the pleasures of his company and plainly considered himself as doing us no small favor. In that peculiar situation in which the tongue vibrates with its utmost ease and celerity, he repeated to us a series of anecdotes dull and vulgar in the extreme. Yet they all contained a seasoning which was exquisite, for himself was in every case the hero of the tale. To add to our amusement, he called for the poems of Allan Ramsay and read several of them to us in what he declared to be the true Scottish pronunciation, laughing incessantly and with great self-complacency as he proceeded.

Dr. Dwight remarks that "a new turnpike road is begun from the ferry and intended to join the Great Western road either at Cayuga bridge or Canandaigua. This route will furnish a nearer journey to Niagara than that which is used at present." We see from this what were the plans of that day, as to the future central highway of New York State. Of Unadilla Dr. Dwight says:

That township in which we now were is named Unadilla and lies in the county of Otsego. It is composed of rough hills and valleys with a handsome collection of intervales along the Susquehanna. On a remarkably ragged eminence immediately north-west of the river, we saw the first oaks and chestnuts after leaving the neighborhood of Catskill. The intervening forests were beach, maple, etc. The

houses in Unadilla were scattered along the road which runs parallel with the river. The settlement is new and appears like most others of a similar date. Rafts containing each from twenty to twenty-five thousand feet of boards are from this township floated down the Susquehanna to Baltimore. Unadilla contained in 1800 eight hundred and twenty-three inhabitants.

On September 27, 1804, Dr. Dwight left Mr. Hanna's inn and rode through to Oxford. The first two miles of the way along the Susquehanna were "tolerably good and with a little labor capable of being excellent." He continues:

We then crossed the Unadilla, a river somewhat smaller but considerable longer (sic) than the Susquehanna proper, quite as deep and as difficult to be forded. Our course to this river was south-west. We then turned directly north along the banks of the Unadilla, and travelling over a rugged hill, passed through a noble cluster of white pines, some of which though not more than three feet in diameter, were, as I judged, not less than 200 feet in height. No object in the vegetable world can be compared with this.

Eleven years later, Dr. Dwight again passed over the turnpike on his way to Utica. "The road from Catskill to Oxford," he said, "I find generally bad, as having been long neglected. The first twenty miles were tolerable, the last twenty absolutely intolerable." After noting that in Franklin "religion had extensively prevailed," he wrote:

Unadilla is becoming a very pretty village. It is built on a delightful ground along the Susquehanna and the number of houses, particularly of good ones, has much increased. A part of the country between this and Oxford is cultivated; a considerable part of it is still a wilderness. The country is rough and of a high elevation.

In some reminiscenses which my father wrote in 1890, he described the scenes along this road that were familiar to him in boyhood at Kortright—1825 to 1835. The road was then in its most prosperous period. It was not uncommon for one of the hotels, which marked every few miles of the route, to entertain thirty or forty guests at a time. The freight wagons were huge in size, drawn by six and eight horses, and had wheels with wide tires. Stages drawn by four and six horses were continually in use. Not infrequently came families bound for Ohio, where they expected to settle—some of these Connecticut people, who helped to plant the Western Reserve settlements. This vast traffic brought easy prosperity to the people along the turnpike and built up towns and villages. My father records the success of the Rev. Mr. McAuley's church at Kortright—a place that has now retrograded so that it is only a small hamlet, just capable of retaining a post-office. But Mr. McAuley's church at one time, more than sixty years ago, had 500 members, and was said to be the largest church society west of the Hudson valley.

A change occurred with the digging of the Erie Canal and the building of the Erie Railway. Moreover, in 1834 was built a turnpike from North Kortright through the Charlotte Valley to Oneonta. The white man having tried a route of his own over the hills, reverted to the route which the red man had marked out for him ages before. Much easier was the grade by this river road, and this fact exercised a marked influence on the fortunes of the settlements along the olden line. Freight wagons were drawn off and sent by the easier way. Stages followed the new turnpike and the country between

Wattles's Ferry and Kortright retrograded as rapidly as it had formerly improved.*

The building of the Catskill Turnpike really led to the founding of Unadilla village on its present site. It had confined to this point a growth which otherwise would probably have been distributed among other points along the valley. Here was a stopping-place, with a river to be crossed, horses to be changed, and new stages taken, and here had been established the important market for country produce of Noble & Hayes. Unadilla became what might be called a small but thriving inland river port. Here lumber was sawed and here it came from mills elsewhere for shipment along with farm products to Baltimore. Here grain was ground, and here were three prosperous distilleries.

The building of the turnpike along the Charlotte was not the only blow that came to the western portion of the Catskill Road. Another and permanent one came to the whole length of the turnpike when the Erie Canal was built, followed later by the Erie Railroad. Otsego County, in 1832, had reached a population of 52,370, but with the Erie Canal in operation it ceased to grow. At the present time the showing is considerably less than it was in 1832, and yet several villages have made large increases, the increase in Oneonta being probably tenfold.

Contemporary with the Erie Canal was an attempt to provide the Susquehanna with a canal. It became

* A stage line, however, for long years afterward supplied these settlements with a means of communication with Unadilla, and it is within the memory of many persons still calling themselves young that for a considerable series of years, trips twice a week were regularly made by Henry S. Woodruff. After Mr. Woodruff's death a large and interesting collection of coaches, sleighs, and other stage relics remained upon his premises—the last survivals of coaching times on the Catskill Turnpike, embracing a period of three-quarters of a century.

a subject of vast local interest from Cooperstown to the interior of Pennsylvania. The scheme included a railway, or some other method of reaching the Erie Canal from the head of Otsego Lake. Colonel De Witt Clinton, Jr., son of the governor, made a survey as far as Milford, and found that in nine miles there was a fall of thirty feet, and that at Unadilla the fall from the lake was 150 feet, while in 110 miles from the lake it was 350 feet. In 1830 a new survey showed that 144 miles out of 153 were already navigable, the remaining nineteen requiring a canal. Some seventy locks would be needed and sixty-five dams. Judge Page, while a member of Congress, introduced a bill to aid slack-water navigation from Cooperstown to tide-water. It was his opinion that the failure of the bill was due to the spread of railroads.

With the ushering in of the great railroad era, the Susquehanna Valley saw started as early as 1830 many railroad projects which could save it from threatened danger. Their aim was to connect the upper Susquehanna with the Hudson at Catskill, and the Mohawk at Canajoharie. None ever got beyond the charter stage. Strenuous efforts were afterward made to bring the Erie from the ancient Cookoze (Deposit) to the Susquehanna at a point above Oghwaga, but this also failed.

Indeed it was not until after the Civil War that any railroad reached the head-waters of the Susquehanna; but it was an agreeable sign of the enterprise which attended the men of 1830 and following years that at the period when the earliest railroad in this State, and one of the earliest on this continent, had just been built from Albany to Schenectady, serious projects existed for opening this valley to the outer

world. Even the great Erie project languished long in consequence of business depression. It was not until 1845 that it was completed as far as Middletown, and not until 1851 that it reached Dunkirk.

Not even to the Erie was final supremacy on this frontier assured, but the upper Susquehanna lands, more than those through which the Erie ran, was doomed to a condition of isolation. Nature itself had decreed that the great route of transportation in New York State was to run where the great trail of the Iroquois for centuries had run—through the Mohawk Valley. Along that central trail from Albany, "the Eastern door," to Buffalo, "the Western door of the Long House," the course of empire westward was to take its way.

VIII

Economic Facts in Pioneer Life

EARLY in the century the forces which determined the character of the frontier villages for the next fifty years were well under way. Already had arrived the men upon whom for many years progress was to rest—those who built the grist and saw mills, the store-keepers, the lumber men, the builders of roads, the owners of cloth mills, the heads of potash industries, and those who sent the produce rafts down the rivers to large markets. On the Susquehanna for half a century existed a thriving community distant nearly a hundred miles from Catskill with no other outlet for its products than the great world to which the turnpike or the river opened the way.

The wealth that nature yielded comprised pork, bacon, lard, lumber, grain, wool, furs, and hides. To transport raw material to Catskill or Baltimore was a costly undertaking. The aim always was to send it in the form that involved the least expense for transportation, a notable example of which was seen in the numerous distilleries set up for the consumption of surplus grain. Early in the century it cost $1 to transport a barrel of flour from Central New York to Philadelphia. Grain and flour carried more than 150 miles could hardly be sold at a profit. Freight on an average cost about $10 a ton for each 100

miles, or ten cents a mile per ton; while in exceptional cases, like the all-land route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, a ton cost as high as $125 for the 500 miles, which was $25 for each 100 miles, or twenty-five cents for each mile per ton.*

In all directions the best economy before the days of good roads, canals and railroads advised every possible kind of local manufacturing, and hence came into existence in every community not only distilleries and grist-mills, but fulling-mills, hat factories, and wagon-shops. Most interesting of all these industries, perhaps, were those for producing home-spun cloth. Mr. Rogers has described them from personal recollections. He says that before 1844 every farmer's wife in the Susquehanna Valley saw that yarn for stockings and mittens, as well as flannel for underwear, fulled cloth and pressed flannel were made. Mills to card the wool into rolls, and also to color, full and dress the cloth, were common throughout the country:

After carding, the wool was spun, a wheel and "clock reel" being found in every family. Much spinning was done by hired labor, thirty knots of warp and stocking yarn, or forty of "filling," being a day's work.

Mr. Rogers proceeds to say:

After being spun the yarn was scoured and taken to the weaver's. Here the warp was spooled, run off on warping bars, and thus warped. Then each individual thread was drawn through one or two "harnesses," and all through a reed, after being wound on the warping-beam. The filling or woof was quilled, the quill being a small paper cone of home construction. Both spooling and quilling were done

*It was stated a few years ago by Chauncey M. Depew that the average freight rate by railroad at that time was less than three-quarters of a cent per ton for each mile of distance.

on a "quill wheel," and the quills were put into a shuttle and thrown by hand. Treadles worked by foot-power pulled down one harness, the reed, hung in a heavy frame, was beaten with one hand, and then the shuttle was thrown back with the other. A good many yards could be woven in a day.

When the cloth was taken from the loom, it went to the dye shop. The colors in common use were snuff brown and butternut. After the dyeing process, the cloth "was fulled, teasled, sheared and pressed, and then sent home to be made up by some woman tailor. As for a "boughten coat," a boy did not get one until he got big enough to "go in company" or work out and earn one.

Mr. Rogers adds that pressed woollen dresses had one great failing—their facility for catching lint and dust—and he tells in illustration of the fact the following touching tale:

Dr. Henry Mitchell, of Norwich, a very eminent physician, and at one time a M.C., was called one fearfully cold and blustering day to see a woman, who was largely a hypochondriac. The doctor went into the sick-room, where the woman had lain down with one of these pressed dresses on. Her hair was unkempt, and as she raised herself to greet him, her dress showed the effect of contact with feathers and lint. She broke out, "Oh, Doctor, I look dreadfully, I know, but I don't look half as bad as I feel." To which he replied: "Then, by ——, you will die."

The prices that were paid for land, farm products, store goods and labor shed light on economic conditions. From old diaries, account-books and letters one can compile lists of prices and, as he turns the yellow pages, form conclusions as striking as they are interesting. Land values were of course very low, but they were quick to rise. As little as 18 cents per acre was paid in Bainbridge. William

Cooper in 1786, after a foreclosure sale, obtained his vast tract comprising 29,350 acres for about 50 cents per acre. In 1789 Leonard M. Cutting purchased of the State 25,000 acres on the west side of the Unadilla River at 3 shillings and one farthing an acre. Other large tracts in the same region were sold for the same price. Eleven years after William Cooper acquired his tract, he sold off a farm to Levi Pierce for $5 per acre. A pioneer named Jonathan Price leased from Mr. Cooper 180 acres at fourteen cents annually per acre. About the year 1800 Ransom Hunt purchased his several hundred acres in Otego for $1.25 per acre. Values in Schoharie County were much higher. Brown says that as early as 1759 land laid out in lots sold at from $1.00 to $5.00. In 1786 Schoharie land was worth $5.00, and in 1817 from $10 to $25.

The capital required, once a pioneer had arrived with his family and secured his land, was small. A yoke of oxen was valued after the war at about $70; a cow at $15, the farming tools absolutely required at $20, and an ox-cart at $30, or a total of $135. A log-house with two rooms in it, built by hired labor, cost about $100. One with a single room, twenty feet square, could be put up for much less, and when a man did the work himself, the cost went down accordingly.

Solomon Martin in 1797, was charged $25, for two tons of hay, and in 1803, $60, for a yoke of oxen. Sherman Page in 1806 was charged $7.60 for 1,010 feet of panel boards; Amos Bidwell in 1798, two shillings, two pence for 5¾ pounds of beef; Hugh Thompson in 1797, 2 shillings for 25 pumpkins; Daniel Mack in 1793, 4 shillings for one bushel of corn, and 6 shillings for two bushels

of wheat; and Daniel Bissell in 1793, 14 shillings for 400 bricks and 16 shillings for "four days of work building chimney;" Guido L. Bissell in 1805, $74, for 14,854 feet of boards. The cash sum of $24 was paid in 1802 to Sluman Bartlett for a barrel of whiskey and Guido L. Bissell was credited in 1807 with $60, for a horse.

For "drawing deeds and acknowledging them" in 1797 Eliphalet Smith was to pay $1.50; for "making pair breeches," Joseph Merrick in 1797 was to pay 6 shillings, and "for making coat," 8 shillings; Ephraim Little in 1798 "for making two caps" 4 shillings; "for schooling one child six weeks" in 1792, 3 shillings 3 pence. In 1806 Benjamin Beech was to pay 2 shillings 6 pence "for one day's cradeling when you went to training." In 1798 for "boarding Betsey Adams on Mrs. Adams's account, 6 weeks" the charge was £1, 6 shillings.

Solomon Martin in 1803 was charged for the use of a horse "at 3 pence per mile for 153 miles;" Amos Bidwell in 1797 for "ride of my mare 20 miles" 6 shillings 8 pence; Hugh Thompson in 1797 for "the use of my sleigh to Shenango, 8 shillings;" Ira Birdsall in 1827 for "the ride of the black mare up Sand Hill and gave her a bad sweating" 25 cents; Ephraim Little in 1798 for "the use of horse and a sleigh to the Susquehanna, gone 3 days, 8 shillings;" Robert Freeman in 1797, "to my time, horse and expense to the Unidealy, £1;" Erastus Root in 1797, "to a journey to Shenango on your business, finding myself, horse and expenses, £4;" an estate in 1798, "to a journey of 40 miles to the Surrogate to be qualified as an executor, $6;" Daniel Bissell in 1797 "to ten

days in your business at German Flatts, finding my own horse to ride at $1 per day, £4;" David Baits in 1797 to a journey to Albany on "account of being bail for you, finding my own horse and expense, nine days at $2 a day, $18;" Henry Birdsall in 1819 "to one day spent to do your business with Judge Sands * by your request, $1;" and Nathaniel Wattles in 1792, "to my journey to New York, £6."†

Other interesting items appear in the Unadilla town records. In 1809 Samuel Betts and Silas Scott, poor-masters, entered a credit for "cash received of A. H. Beach as a fine against Francis West for breach of the Sabbath, 75 cents." In 1814 credit was entered for cash received of Uriah Hanford, Esq., "for fines imposed for profain swearing, etc., $2.25." In 1822 a charge was made of $2.00 for "writing and putting up notices against drunkards." Curtis Noble as town clerk in 1812, entered a statement that Stephen Benton "directed me to enter on the records of the town that his black slave Gin was delivered of a male child on the 24th of September, 1811, which he calls William and delivered me a certificate of the same as the laws directs." Slaves had then existed in Otsego County for many years. In 1801 there were forty-three of them. A good female slave cook was valued at $200.

About 1820, farm hands were paid from $8 to $11 per month; mechanics from $12 to $16; men to work in the haying season 50 cents a day. Hemlock lumber was worth $3.50 per thousand;

* Obadiah Sands, who had first settled on the Delaware at Deposit and afterward lived in Franklin. He was the father of the late Frederick A. Sands of Unadilla.

† Judge Sluman Wattles's account book.

pine shingles from 75 cents to $1.00 per bunch; fire-wood, $1.00 a cord; a 3-year old steer from $11 to $14; butter 8 cents per pound and whiskey 25 cents a gallon. For eggs and butter even so late as 1837, the only returns were "store pay," and the same was true of corn, rye and oats, unless hauled to a distillery, as was the common practice. But even here, cash was not certain to be paid.

It is obvious that these frontier communities became almost self-supporting. From the outer world the things obtained were extremely few. With a supply of sugar and salt, a family could almost have subsisted on things that the soil and their own ingenuity produced. The earliest traders and settlers who learned from the Indians how from a birch-tree a boat could be made in which to transport food and domestic chattels received a lesson in invention which they and many who came after them were to find useful all their lives. Necessity truly became the mother of invention when the hollowed-out piece of a tree, or a sap-trough was employed to rock one's offspring to sleep in, or when a man immigrating into a new wilderness home, mounted on the back of an old horse, not only his household goods, but his wife and children.

Men and women literally became jacks of all trades. A fine example of development in this line was Sluman Wattles, who was not only a farmer, but a road builder, tailor, shoemaker, lumberman, butcher, hatter, bricklayer, teacher, lawyer and county judge. Another example was Joseph Sleeper, farmer, Quaker preacher, surveyor, millwright, carpenter, stone-mason and blacksmith; and still another, Jedediah Peck, who was farmer, lawyer, millwright, preacher, politician and county judge.

A blacksmith could not only make shoes for horses, but to him the farmer went for hoes, pitchforks and rakes. Even ploughs could here be made, and a man could turn the sod all day with a yoke of oxen controlled by a harness constructed of bark from an elm-tree. Trees in the forest untouched by the axe were employed as supports for looms set up under the open sky. In conditions such as these were developed motive forces in men and women that have made communities strong and states powerful.

Since that period times indeed have changed. Fortunate it is that men and women have changed also—fortunate for them and the world. A new and broader life, though one not quite so heroic, but a life with something of sweetness and refinement unknown to that conquering generation, has come in, while the old order has been rolled away as a scroll. Throughout this land for more than 100 years peace has dwelt. Gone is that warfare with Indians and Tories; gone are those titanic struggles with nature. As the railway has superseded the stage-coach and freight-wagon, so did they in their turn supplant the "battoe" and the ark. Something of life, too, has departed—that full and strenuous life which to those times belonged.

Nature alone remains unaltered. Scarcely changed in aspect stand these hills, more beautiful to eyes born among them than any others the world contains; and the blue sky, the storms of winter and summer, the clouds that now threaten disaster, that now give promise of glorious day—all these remain as once they were. Throughout the landscape, from Lake Otsego down to Old Oghwaga (as throughout another scene, indeed, from where, for half a cen-

tury, frowned the ramparts of Fort Stanwix to where the colossal Capitol keeps watch and ward), ever winding across that glorious panorama, ever silent, as great natures often are, in its potent and beneficent sway,

> I see what was, and is, and will abide;
> Still glides the stream, and shall forever glide.

Bibliography, etc.

Bibliography, etc.

MATERIAL IN PRINT

Below will be found a list of books, pamphlets, and other printed matter consulted in the preparation of the foregoing pages. By means of an alphabetical arrangement, usually as to authors' names, an authority cited in the text may here be found with the title of the work and the date and place of publication.

ALMON, JOHN: The Remembrancer. London, 1775–1783.

ALSOP, G. A.: Character of the Province of Maryland. London, 1666.

APPLETON'S American Biographical Dictionary. 6 vols., 8vo. New York, 1887–1889.

BACON, REV. JAMES: Sermon on the Death of Nathaniel Wattles. 8vo. Cooperstown, 1798.

BAKER, HARVEY: Papers in the Oneonta *Herald* in 1892, 1893, and 1894.

BANCROFT, GEORGE: History of the United States. 9 vols. Boston, 1873.

BARRETT, WALTER: The Old Merchants of New York. 5 vols., 12mo. New York, 1885.

BARLOW, COLONEL AARON: Diary of. *American Historical Register* for March, 1895.

Beach Genealogy. Printed in Orcutt's History of Stratford, Conn. New Haven, 1886.

BEARDSLEY, E. EDWARD: History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut. New York, 1865.

BEARDSLEY, LEVI: Reminiscences. 8vo. New York, 1852.

BEATTY, ERKURIES: Journal of. Printed in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition. Auburn, 1887.

BEAUCHAMP, REV. W. M.: Article on Indian Missions in the *Church Review* for July, 1888.

BEAUCHAMP, REV. W. M.: The Iroquois Trail. Fayetteville, N. Y., 1893.

BEAUCHAMP, REV. W. M.: Indian Names in New York State. Fayetteville, N. Y., 1894.

BENTON, N. S.: History of Herkimer County. 8vo. Albany, 1856.

Berkshire County, Massachusetts: History of. Quarto. New York (Beers), 1885.

BLEEKER, LEONARD: Order Book of. Small quarto. New York, 1865.

BLOODGOOD, S. D. W.: The Sexagenary; or Reminiscences of the American Revolution. 12mo. Albany, 1833.

BOLTWOOD, M.: Genealogy of the Family of Thomas Noble. 8vo. Hartford, 1878.

BRECK, SAMUEL: Recollections of. Edited by H. E. Scudder. Philadelphia, 1877.

BROWN, J. M.: Brief Sketch of the First Settlement of Schoharie County. New edition. Cobleskill, 1891.

BRYANT, W. C.: Article on Brant in the *American Historical Record* for July, 1873.

BUTLER, COLONEL WILLIAM: Letter of. Printed in Pennsylvania Archives. New series. Vol. X.

CAMPBELL, DOUGLAS: Address at the Cherry Valley Centennial in 1878. 8vo. Cherry Valley, 1878.

CAMPBELL, DOUGLAS: The Puritan in Holland, England, and America. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1892.

CAMPBELL, W. W.: The Annals of Tryon County. 12mo. New York, 1831.

CHASE, PHILANDER P.: Reminiscences: an Autobiography. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1848.

CHURCHILL, JOHN C.: Landmarks of Oswego County. 8vo. Syracuse: D. Mason & Co.

CLINTON, GEORGE: First Governor of New York. Public Papers of, 1777–1779. 4 vols., 8vo. Edited by Hugh Hastings. Albany, 1899–1900.

COBB, S. H.: The Story of the Palatines. 12mo. New York, 1896.

COLDEN, CADWALADER: History of the Five Nations. 8vo. New York, 1727. Enlarged edition. London, 1747.

COOPER, J. FENIMORE: The Chronicles of Cooperstown. Cooperstown, 1838.

COOPER, J. FENIMORE: The Deerslayer. Philadelphia, 1841.

COOPER, J. FENIMORE: The Pioneers. New York, 1823.

COOPER, J. FENIMORE: Wyandotte; or the Hutted Knoll. New York, 1843.

COOPER, WILLIAM: A Guide to the Wilderness. Letters to William Sampson. Rochester, 1897.

COTHREN, WILLIAM: History of Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut. Waterbury, 1854.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, ETC.

CRAFT, REV. DAVID: Historical Address at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Newtown. Printed in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition.

CULLUM, G. W.: Biographical Register of the United States Military Academy. 3 vols., 8vo. Boston, 1891.

CUSICK, DAVID: Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations. 12mo. Lockport, 1848.

Delaware County: Biographical Review of Leading Citizens of. Boston, 1895.

Delaware County: Centennial History of. Edited by David Murray. Delhi, 1899.

Delaware County: History of. Quarto. Albany (Munsell).

DE LOSS, L. W.: Samson Occum and the Christian Indians of New England. Boston, 1899.

Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. 63 vols., 8vo. London, 1885–1900.

DURHAM, J. H.: Carleton Island in the Revolution. Syracuse, 1889.

DWIGHT, S. E.: Life of Jonathan Edwards. New York, 1830.

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, D.D.: Travels in New England and New York. 4 vols., 8vo. New Haven, 1821.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN: Life of David Brainerd. Chiefly extracted from his diary. New Haven, 1822.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN, JR.: Observations on the Language of Indians. Andover, 1842.

FISHER, S. G.: Historical Address at the Wyoming Massacre Monument, 1896. Proceeding of the Association. Wilkes-Barre, 1896.

FISKE, JOHN: The American Revolution. 2 vols., 12mo. Boston, 1892.

FROTHINGHAM, WASHINGTON: History of Montgomery County. Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1892.

GANO, REV. JOHN: Biographical Memoir of.

GAY, W. B.: Historical Gazetteer of Tioga County. Syracuse, 1888.

GRANT, MRS. ANNE: Memoirs of an American Lady. 2 vols., 12mo. London, 1808.

GRAY, CAPTAIN WILLIAM: Map and Letters of. Printed in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition. Auburn, 1887.

GREELEY, HORACE: Recollections of a Busy Life. 8vo. New York, 1868.

Greene County, History of. Quarto. New York (Beers), 1894.

GRIFFIS, REV. W. E.: Life of Sir William Johnson. 16mo. New York, 1892.

GRINNELL, G. B.: The Story of the Indian. New York, 1897.

GOODWIN, H. C.: The Pioneers of Cortlandt County. New York, 1859.

GOULD, JAY: A History of Delaware County. 12mo. Roxbury, 1856.

HALE, HORATIO: The Iroquois Book of Rites. Philadelphia, 1883.

HALSEY, G. L., M.D.: Reminiscences of Village Life. Printed in the Unadilla *Times* in 1890.

HALSEY, J. L. and EDMUND D.: Thomas Halsey of Hertfordshire, England, and Southampton, Long Island. Morristown, 1895.

HAWLEY, GIDEON: Narrative of His Journey to Oghwaga in 1753. I. Mass. Coll., IV. Also Vol. III. Doc. Hist., New York.

HOOPER, REV. JOSEPH: History of St. Peter's Church, Albany. 8vo. Albany, 1899.

Hartwick Seminary: Memorial of the Semi-Centennial. Albany, 1867.

HAWKINS, E.: Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies. 12mo. London, 1845.

HAYES, ISAAC: Memoir of. Printed privately.

Herkimer County: History of. Quarto. New York (Beers), 1879.

HOLLISTER, ISAAC: Narrative of His Captivity.

HOUGH, F. B.: The Northern Invasion. New York, 1866.

HOUGH, F. B.: Gazetteer of the State of New York. Large octavo.

HUMPHREYS, DAVID: Historical Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. London, 1730.

JOGUES, ISAAC: Description of New Netherland. Reprinted with memoir by John G. Shea. New York, 1864.

JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER: History of Connecticut. Boston, 1887.

JOHNSTON, GEORGE: History of Cecil County, Maryland. Elkton, 1881.

JONES, THOMAS: History of New York During the Revolutionary War. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1879.

JONES, POMROY: Annals of Oneida County. 8vo. 1854.

JONES, E. F.: History of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Springfield, 1854.

Journals of the Military Expedition of General John Sullivan. 8vo. Auburn, 1887.

KALM, PETER: A Voyage to North America. 3 vols. London, 1772.

KING, RUFUS: Life and Correspondence of. Edited by Charles R. King. 5 vols., 8vo. New York, 1895.

KULP, G. B.: Historical Sketches. 8vo. Wilkes-Barre, 1892.

LINCOLN, ——: History of Worcester, Massachusetts. Worcester, 1837.

LINCKLAEN, JOHN: Travels in the Years 1791 and 1796 in Pennsylvania and Western New York. New York, 1897.

LIVERMORE, REV. S. T.: History of Cooperstown. 12mo. Albany, 1862.

LOSSING, B. J.: Field Book of the American Revolution. New York, 1850–1852.

LOTHROP, S. K.: Memoir of Samuel Kirkland. Boston, 1846.

LOUNSBURY, T. R.: Life of J. Fenimore Cooper. Boston, 1882.

MACHIN, CAPTAIN THOMAS: Journal of. Printed in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition. Auburn, 1887.

MCKENDRY, WILLIAM: Journal of. Printed in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Printed also in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition. Auburn, 1887.

MCMASTER, J. B.: History of the People of the United States. 5 vols. New York, 1882–1899.

MEGAPOLENSIS, REV. JOHN: Treatise on the Mohawks. New York Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. III. Second series.

MILLER, REV. JOHN: The Province and City of New York in 1695. 8vo. New York, 1862.

Montgomery County: History of. New York (Beers), 1878.

MORGAN, LEWIS H.: The League of the Iroquois. 8vo. Rochester, 1851.

MORRISON, LEONARD A.: History of Windham, New Hampshire. Boston, 1883.

NANNY, HARRISON W.: Address before the Minisink Historical Society in 1892.

New Jersey *Gazette* for December 31, 1778.

New York Assembly Documents. Vols. II. to VI. Albany, 1777–1782.

New York Chamber of Commerce, Colonial Records of. New York, 1867.

New York Civil List. 8vo. Albany, 1892.

New York Colonial Documents. 15 vols., quarto. Albany, 1855–1861.

New York: Documentary History of. 4 vols., 8vo. Albany, 1849.

New York in the Revolution. Quarto. Albany, 1898.

New York Journals of the Legislative Council. 2 vols., quarto. Albany, 1861.

New York Journals of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety. 2 vols., quarto. Albany, 1842.

New York Revolutionary Papers. 2 vols., quarto. Albany, 1868.

New York State Archives. The Revolution. Quarto. Albany, 1887.

Oneida Historical Society: Transactions of.

ORCUTT, SAMUEL: History of New Milford, Connecticut. Hartford, 1882.

Otsego County: Biographical Review of. Quarto. Boston, 1893.

Otsego County: History of. Quarto. (Everts and Farris.)

Otsego County: Political Wars of; or the Downfall of Jacobinism and Despotism. 12mo. Cooperstown, 1796.

PERKINS, MRS. G. R.: Early Times on the Susquehanna. 12mo. Binghamton, 1870.

PARKMAN, FRANCIS: A Half Century of Conflict. 2 vols., 8vo. Boston, 1892.

PARKMAN, FRANCIS: Montcalm and Wolfe. 2 vols., 8vo. Boston, 1884.

PARKMAN, FRANCIS: The Conspiracy of Pontiac. 8vo. Boston, 1851.

PARKMAN, FRANCIS: The Jesuits in North America. 8vo. Boston, 1867.

POUCHOT, M.: Memoir Upon the Late War in North America of 1755 to 1760. 2 vols., with Atlas. New York, 1866.

PRIEST, JOSIAH: Narrative of the Captivity of Freegift Patchin.

PRIEST, JOSIAH: Stories of Early Settlers in the Wilderness. Small, quarto. Pamphlet.

Queen's County: History of. Quarto. Albany (Munsell), 1882.

ROBERTS, E. H.: Centennial Address at the Battle of Newtown. Printed in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition.

ROGERS, P. P.: Articles in the Unadilla *Times*, *Husbandman*, and Binghamton *Call*. 1893.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE: History of New York City. New York, 1891.

ROSCOE, W. E.: History of Schoharie County. Folio. Syracuse.

SCHARF, J. T.: History of Maryland. 3 vols., 8vo. Baltimore, 1879.

SCHOOLCRAFT, H. R.: Notes on the Iroquois. Albany, 1846.

SEAVER, J. E.: Life of Mary Jemison. 12mo. New York, 1856.

SHAW, S. M.: History of Cooperstown. 16mo. Cooperstown, 1886.

Sidney Centre: Centennial Celebration of. 8vo. Sidney, 1892.

Sidney: Centennial Celebration of. Sidney, 1876.

SIMMS, J. R.: History of Schoharie County. 8vo. Albany, 1845.

SIMMS, J. R.: The Frontiersman. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1872–1873.

SMITH, JOHN: General History of Virginia. London, 1622.

SMITH, R. MONROE: The Burlington Smiths. Philadelphia, 1878.

SMITH, SAMUEL: History of New York. 12mo. London, 1755.

SNYDER, CAPTAIN JEREMIAH: Narrative of. Prepared by Charles H. DeWitt. Published about 1820.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: Proceedings of. London, 17—.

SPAFFORD: Gazetteer of the State of New York. 1813–1821.

SPRAGUE, W. B.: Annals of the American Pulpit. 9 vols., 8vo. 1857–1869.

STEDMAN, C.: History of the American War. 2 vols. London, 1794.

STONE, W. L.: Life of Joseph Brant. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1838.

STONE, W. L., Sr. and Jr.: Life of Sir William Johnson. 2 vols., 8vo. Albany, 1865.

SWINNERTON, REV. DR. H. U.: Historical Account of the Presbyterian Church at Cherry Valley. Cherry Valley, 1876.

TALLEYRAND, PRINCE DE: Memoirs of. Edited by the Duke de Broglie. 5 vols., 8vo. New York, 1891.

THOMPSON, A. C.: Protestant Missions; Their Rise and Early Progress. New York, 1894.

THOMPSON, B. T.: History of Long Island. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1839.

TRUMBULL, J. H. (Editor): Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut. 2 vols., quarto. Boston, 1886.

TUCKERMAN, BAYARD: Life of Peter Stuyvesant. 16mo. New York, 1893.

VAN HOVENBURGH, RUDOLPHUS: Journal of. Printed in the Journals of the Sullivan Expedition. Auburn, 1887.

VASSELLER, E.: Interview with Hudson Sleeper. Printed in the Oneonta *Herald*.

WAGER, DAVID E.: Descriptive History of Oneida County. 8vo. Boston History Co. 1896.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE: Writings of. Edited by W. C. Ford. 14 vols., 8vo. New York, 1893.

WEISER, G. Z.: Life of John Conrad Weiser. 12mo. Reading, 1876.

WELD, ISAAC: Travels Through the States of North America. 2 vols., 12mo. London, 1799.

WHEELOCK, REV. DR. ELEAZUR: Memoir of. By David McClure and Elijah Parish. Newburyport, 1811.

WHEELOCK, REV. DR. ELEAZUR: Narrative of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut. With continuations. 16mo. Boston, 1762–1765.

WILKINSON, J. B.: Annals of Binghamton. Binghamton, 1840.

WILLIAMSON, ——: Settlement of the Genesee Country. New York, 1797.

WILLETT, W. W.: Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett. 8vo. New York, 1831.

WINSOR, JUSTIN: Narrative and Critical History of America. 8 vols., large 8vo. Boston, 1889.

WORTH, G. A.: Random Recollections of Albany. 8vo. Albany, 1856.

YAWGER, R. N.: The Indian and the Pioneer. 8vo. Syracuse, 1893.

MANUSCRIPTS

The subjoined list embraces material not existing in printed form. In many ways it has shed new and important light on the history of this frontier.

BISSELL, DANIEL, and GUIDO, L.: Account books, papers, etc., in possession of Mrs. Sumner (Harriet Bissell), of Norwich.

BRANT, JOSEPH: Letter to Colonel Bolton, written at Oghwaga, July, 1779. In Spark's coll. of MSS. at Harvard.

CLINTON, GOVERNOR GEORGE: Manuscripts of, in 48 vols. Large folio. In State Library at Albany.

COAD, J. FRANCIS, of Charlotte Hall, Maryland: Papers of, land and other, pertaining to the Otego patent.

DRAPER, LYMAN COPELAND: Brant Manuscripts in Library of the Wisconsin Hist. Society, Madison. 23 vols., folio. Examined in the summer of 1900 through courtesy of the librarian, Reuben Gold Thwaites.

HAYES' Papers: Account books, documents, etc., pertaining to the firm of Noble & Hayes.

HECKEWELDER, REV. JOHN: Manuscript in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

JOHNSON, SIR WILLIAM: Papers of in 25 vols. Large folio. In State Library at Albany.

JOHNSTON, WILLIAM S.: History of the Susquehanna Valley. A fragment. A copy of some parts in MS. exists in library of Wisconsin Hist. Soc.

Journal relating to Unadilla Valley. In possession of Alexander W. Russell, of Westborough, Mass.

New York State Colonial Manuscripts and Land Papers. 63 vols., large Folio. 1643–1803. In office of Secretary of State, Albany.

Otsego County: Land Records of. In County Clerk's office, Cooperstown, where researches were made gratuitously for the author by Lee B. Cruttenden while County Clerk.

SMITH & WELLS: Notes of a tour to the head of the Susquehanna in 1769. Manuscript copy purchased by author at sale of the library of late Dr. George H. Moore, Superintendent of the Lenox Library. The original is owned by Mr. Coad, a descendant of Mr. Smith. Quarto, 100 pages.

Unadilla Town Records. 5 vols., folio. Beginning in 1797.

WARREN, CAPTAIN BENJAMIN: Diary of. In Spark's Coll., Harvard University.

WATTLES, SLUMAN: Day-book and Court Records of, for years before 1800. In possession of Edwin R. Wattles, Sidney Centre.

WHITING, MAJOR DANIEL: Letter written at Cherry Valley in November, 1778. Now in Spark's Coll. at Harvard University.

A Few of the Many

The individuals who, by letter or interviews during a period of many years, have kindly responded to the author's appeals, make an extended list. Among them should at least be named the following: The late William Kelby, for many years Librarian, and Robert H. Kelby, now Librarian of the New York Historical Society; Thomas J. Titus, Assistant Librarian of the Mercantile Library; Thomas E. Benedict, formerly Deputy Secretary of State; Hugh Hastings, State Historian; Charles W. Hooper, Land Clerk in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany; the late George R. Howell, Archivist of the State Library; Lee V. Cruttenden, formerly County Clerk of Otsego County; the late Perry P. Rogers, of Binghamton; the Rev. Dr. H. U. Swinnerton, and the late John L. Sawyer, of Cherry Valley; William E. Roscoe, of Carlisle, Schoharie County; Harrison W. Nanny, of Goshen; the late James C. Pilling, of the Smithsonian Institution; Samuel M. Shaw, of

Cooperstown; A. J. F. Van Laer, Sublibrarian, in charge of the Manuscripts in the State Library; Rufus A. Grider, of Canajoharie; the late Douglas Campbell and John Henry Johnston, of New York; the late Clark I. Hayes, of Unadilla; the late D. P. Loomis, Supervisor, and Chester K. Belknap, Town Clerk, of Unadilla; Edwin R. Wattles, of Sidney Centre; the late Ira E. Sherman and the late William A. Fry, of Sidney; the Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, of Baldwinsville, N. Y.; and Père N. Burtin, of Caughnawaga, Canada.

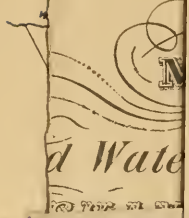
A Personal Note

It seems proper to add a few lines here, as to the circumstances in which this volume was written. In the summer of 1890 my father, Gaius Leonard Halsey, M.D., of Unadilla, wrote for the Unadilla *Times* a series of papers giving reminiscences of his life in that village for fifty years. He had long been in failing health, and in the following February we laid him away in the village churchyard.

While undertaking to republish his reminiscences in pamphlet form, I began to write an introduction, setting forth events in village history previous to his arrival there in 1840. In this way I literally stumbled upon the events set forth in this volume. Born and reared in Unadilla, I had grown to manhood and been many years out of college, without gaining more than a shadowy impression of those events. Brant's name was known, and I had heard of an interview between him and General Herkimer, but I knew definitely nothing else in Brant's career. Of the massacre of Cherry Valley I had heard, but why, or when, or how it happened, I did not know.

These facts embraced the sole stock of information I had concerning the early history of this frontier. The generation to which I belong had grown up ignorant of the stirring history of their own valley, simply because nothing had been published about it in their time, and the early chronicles had become scarce books. I then set about collecting material for a detailed record, including the annals of the village from its settlement down to 1840, and in the course of nearly ten years brought together a mass of material from a great variety of sources.

Its publication as a local history was planned, but about a year ago I decided to extract from the larger mass so much as might be presumed to have wider interest, and to seek to have it made public through a regular publishing house, reserving the purely local matter for issue in some other way.




MAP
OF THE
Head Waters of the Rivers
SUSQUEHANNA & DELAWARE
Embracing the Early Patents on the
South Side
of the
MOHAWK RIVER
From the Original drawn about the Year 1790 by
Simeon De Witt Esq
Surveyor General &c
State of New York
Ockinkenoy Patent
Canada Creek
Canajoharie Creek
Cosby's Manor
Little Falls
Mohawk River
Schenectady
Schoharie River
Cayuga Lake
Seneca Lake
Susquehanna River
Branch of Delaware River
Charlotte River
Unadilla River
Otsego Lake
Meridian of New York
Manor of Rensselaerwyck

Index

Index

ABBOTT, WILLIAM, 358
Abraham, Mohawk chief, 22
Afton, islands near, 27, 275; Gould Bacon settles on one of, 345
Agwrondougwas, Peter, a converted Indian, 68
Alagatinga, an Indian chief, his grave, 24
Albany, as a trading post, 8, 32, 34; Indians cheated at, 39; plate in St. Peter's Church at, 49; council at, 56; Congress of, 63; trade of, in danger, 88; conference at, with Indians, 152; inhabitants of, preparing for flight, 302; Brant visits, 323
Albout, settlement of, 134; Colonel William Butler at, 234; General Clinton burns, 275
Alden, Colonel Ichabod, arrives in Cherry Valley, 223; sends out scouting party, 240; killed, 241, 242; blamed for massacre, 245; his grave, 246
Alger, Stoughton, 24, 129
Alsop, George, describes Susquehanna Indians, 17
Andrews, Rev. William, missionary, 48
Andrustown, destroyed by Brant, 211
Anne of Austria, 45
Anne, Queen, aids Palatines, 36; aids missionaries, 50
Arnold, General Benedict, relieves Fort Schuyler, 193; Walter Butler's conviction under, 239; treason of, 295; meets Talleyrand in England, 369
Ashley, Mrs. B., an interpreter, 55, 56
Avery, John, 342
Avery, Revs. Henry and Peter, 80

BACON, GOULD, 343; his adventure in a freshet, 345
Bacon, Rev. James, 347, 373
Bainbridge, Turnpike from, to Esopus, 176; Colonel Timothy Church settles in, 342, 350; land values in, 394
Baits, David, 345, 397
Ballard, Captain, goes out from Cherry Valley as a scout, 224
Ballston burned, 300
Banyar, Gouldsborough, at the Albany Congress, 64; real owner of the Wallace patent, 111; sketch of, 112–114; at Sir William Johnson's funeral, 162, 344, 345
Barclay, Rev. Henry, missionary, 50
Bateaux, description of, 121
Baxter, Levi, his mill site, 133, 342
Beach, A. H., 397
Beach, Ebenezer, 352
Beach, Timothy, 343; reaches the Ouleout, 347; his adventures, 350; his untimely fate, 352
Beach, William, 353
Beals, Abraham and Jacob, settle on the Susquehanna, 334
Beardsley, Levi, his Reminiscences, 125; describes Colonel Alden's grave when opened, 247; settles in Richfield, 343
Beatty, Lieutenant Erkuries, 261; his account of Clinton's descent of the Susquehanna, 274
Beaumetz, ——, visits the Susquehanna with Talleyrand, 368, 369, 370
Beletre, ——, destroys German Flats, 123
Bennington, battle of, 189
Benton, Caleb, 382, 383
Benton, Stephen, lands of, 109, 354, 382, 397
Betts, John M., 352
Betts, Samuel, 342
Bibliography, 403
Biddle, Joseph, 127
Binghamton, hostile Indians at, 66, 72, 352; first settlement of, 135, 354; Talleyrand at, 369
Bissell, Daniel, as a boy, 341, 353, 396
Bissell, Guido L., 353, 396
Bleeker, Captain Johannus, 35, 274
Bloomville, Scotch-Irish at, 348
Bolton, Colonel ——, commands Fort Niagara, 266
Bostwick, David, 383
Boswell, James, friend to Brant in London, 158
Boyd, Lieutenant Thomas, his horrible death, 282
Braddock, General Edward, defeat of, 65
Bradley Farm, meeting place of Herkimer and Brant, 179
Bradley, Peter, 343
Bradstreet, Gen. John, his lands on the Susquehanna, 169
Bradt, Arendt, his patent, 94

INDEX

Brainerd, David, missionary, 52
Brant, Indians of that name, 158
Brant, Joseph, portrait of, frontispiece; student at Lebanon, 70, 121.; at Ft. Niagara and Lake George, 74; interpreter to missionaries, 76; teaches Kirkland the Mohawk tongue, 78; visitor at Sleeper's house, 128; guide to Smith and Wells, 129, 141–142; home in Canajoharie, 140; his wife, 144; reply to Dr. Wheelock, 149; early life of, 157–161; goes to London, 162–164; social success in London, 165; on Staten Island, 165; described, 166; goes to Oghwaga, 168; proposed apprehension of, 169; invades Mohawk Valley, 172; extent of his authority, 173, 184; at Unadilla, 173; disperses the Unadilla settlement, 173–175; aided by Tories at Unadilla, 176; interview with Herkimer at Unadilla, 178–184; his loyalty to the King, 180; starts for Oswego, 185; ambushes Herkimer at Oriskany, 190; preparing to attack Cherry Valley, 204; returns to the Susquehanna, 207; at Cobleskill, 208; at Cherry Valley, 208–209; on the Charlotte River, 210; burns Springfield, 211; with Butler at Chemung, 212; causes Wormwood's death, 208, 213; means to "fight the cruel rebels," 214; in the Old England district, 214; goes to Tioga Point, 215; collects provisions for Butler, 215; expedition of, to Lackawaxen, 215; not at Wyoming, 216; intends to attack Cherry Valley, 224, 225; destroys German Flats, 225–227; returns to Unadilla, 226; invades Minisink, 237; granddaughter of killed, 237; induced to go to Cherry Valley, 239; regrets killing of Wells family, 241; restraining influence of, at Cherry Valley, 247; kills a man for lying, 248; saves the life of a Mason, 248; at Sleeper's Mills, 250; portrait of, facing 158; tries to win over Oneidas and Tuscaroras, 263; at Oghwaga waiting for Clinton, 265; goes to the Mohawk, 269; goes to Newtown, 278; ready for battle, 279; described in action, 279; his skilful retreat at Newtown, 280; surprises Captain Harper, 288; invades Ulster, 289; his humanity, 290; starts from Niagara, 291; at Fort Schuyler, 292; destroys Canajoharie, 293; collecting his forces, 296; captures men sent out from Fort Schuyler, 299; scouts of, on the Mohawk, 302; in battle on Summit Lake, 305; takes cattle on the Mohawk, 309; orders horse killed for food, 311; secures lands for Indians after the war, 318; second visit to London, 320; entertained by the Prince of Wales, 321; his native dignity illustrated in London, 321; his home in Canada, 322; in Philadelphia and Albany, 323; letter from, about his school days, 324; his death, 324; his character, 325–327
Brant, King, Joseph's grandfather, 158
Brant, Mollie, 157; marries Sir William Johnson, 159; her son William, 179
Brant, Nikus, 157
Brantford, home of Joseph Brant there, 322
Brant-Sero, J. O., in London, 322
Breck, Samuel, 369
Bressani, Joseph, priest among the Iroquois, 45
Brink, Aaron, 335
Brooks settlement, 212
Brown, Col. ——, killed at Stone Arabia, 298
Brown, Squire ——, settles on the Unadilla, 123
Bruehle, Stephen, visits the Susquehanna, 33
Bruyar, Jacques, 44
Bryant, William C., of Buffalo, his estimate of Brant, 325
Buck Island, forces gathered at, 265; Sir John Johnson at, 296; an expedition to, 303; Major Ross sails from, 305
Bull, Capt., ——, a Tory, 179
Bundy, Capt, Peter, settles in Otego, 130
Burgoyne, Gen. John, his campaign, 185; captures Fort Ticonderoga, 188; his progress checked, 189; his surrender, 194
Burhans, Rev. Daniel, 374
Burnet, Governor William, young men sent to Oghwaga by, 38; builds fort at Oswego, 186
Burr, Aaron, introduces Brant to his daughter, 323; and the politicai wars of Otsego County, 367
Burr, Theodosia, entertains Brant, 323

INDEX

Bush, Elnathan, 345
Butler, Col. John, his patent, 103; commands Scotch Highlanders, 150; forbids Indians to injure settlements, 171; at Oriskany, 190; his Rangers, 203; treaty with Indians, 204; to join Brant, 210, 211; at Tioga Point, 215; goes to Wyoming, 218; Pennamites with him at Wyoming, 220; regrets killing of Wells family, 241; at Newtown, 278; responsibility for Lieut. Boyd's death, 283; sails from Niagara, 291; invades the Mohawk, 292; lands of, confiscated, 337
Butler, Capt. Walter, organizes Cherry Valley Massacre, 239; his barbarity at Cherry Valley, 249; at Newtown, 278; killed, 306-307
Butler, Col. William, in command in Schoharie, 229-230; destroys Unadilla and Oghwaga, 234-236; starts to relieve Cherry Valley, 243; dams the lake at Cooperstown, 260; commands light infantry, under Gen. Clinton, 272; destroys Indian villages on Cayuga Lake, 281; futility of his expedition to the Susquehanna, 314
Butler, Col. Zebulon, commands Forty Fort at Wyoming, 218
Butternut Creek, settlers on, 122, 127, 212; Tories on, 224; prisoners taken on, 227; Gen. Morris's arrival on, 366
Butts, Jacob, 342

CALDWELL, Capt. ——, commands the enemy at German Flatts, 228
Campbell, Douglas, 118
Campbell, James, his coming to America, 120
Campbell, Col. Samuel, his house fortified, 168; succeeds Herkimer in command at Oriskany, 192, 238; returns to Cherry Valley, 333
Campbell, Mrs. Samuel, a prisoner at Cherry Valley, 250; at Kanadasaga, 252
Campbell, Thomas, Brant wrongly put into his "Gertrude," 216
Campbell, W. W., his "Annals," 4; sketch of, 21-44; his father at the Cherry Valley massacre, 243; his account of Walter Butler's death, 307; reflections of, on the fate of the Iroquois, 317
Canadurango, Lake, settlements at, 124; scout on, 225; beaver dam at, 261
Canajoharie, chapel at, 51; Brant's home at, 140, 157, 160; patriots at, 148; Gen. Herkimer at, with his militia, 178; Gen. Clinton at, 258; destroyed by Brant, 293; men killed at, 302; Col. Willett at, 303 Washington visits, 333
Cannon, Mrs., put to death, 250
Carleton, Col. Guy, burns Ballston, 300
Carleton Island. See Buck Island
Carr, John, builds mill on Carr's Creek, 133; aids Brant, 174
Carr, Percefer, settles in Edmeston, 123; Brant seeks food from, 183; aids Tories, 212-213; made a prisoner, 226; Father Nash in his home, 376
Carr's Creek, 133, 351
Case, Samuel H., 380
Catherinetown, destroyed by the Sullivan Expedition, 280
Catskill Turnpike, 114; beginning of, 138, 354; a great highway, 379-391
Catskill, 384
Cäughnawaga, invaded by Sir John Johnson, 291; devastation of completed, 298
Caughnawaga, Canada, Mohawks living near, 319
Cayuga Lake, Indian villages on destroyed, 281
Cayugas, drawn into the war, 184
Chamberlain, Ivory, 378
Champläin, Samuel de, at Oswego, 186
Charlotte River, origin of the name, 30; Palatines make canoes on, 37; Sir William Johnson's patent on, 110; Brant on, 210; rafts made at mouth of, for prisoners, 251; Sir John Johnson at mouth of, 297: lands on, confiscated, 337; road to, from the Hudson, 379, 388
Chatham, Earl of, on the employment of Indians in the war, 164
Chemung, Brant with Butler at, 212; Sullivan expedition at, 278
Chemung River, rise in, after opening the dam at Otsego Lake, 272
Chenang, destroyed by Gen. Clinton, 276. See Binghamton
Cherry Valley, Gideon Hawley at, 66; during the French war, 67; Lindesay's patent at, 93; settled by Scotch-Irish, 119-121; roads to and from, 138-139; the church

at, 140, 373; meeting of patriots in, 148; alarmed by news from Oghwaga, 166; Campbell house fortified at, 168; families arrive at, from Unadilla, 174; Col. Van Schaick goes to, with militia, 177; Herkimer returns to, 182; petition from, to Gov. Clinton, 204; to be attacked, 204-205; fort built at, 206; Brant invited to, 212; an expedition to, planned, 216, 224, 225; Col. Alden arrives in, 223; massacre of, 238-252; failure of authorities to defend, 239-240; the fort at, 245; monument at, facing 238; second massacre of, 302; Washington visits, 333; William Cooper arrives at, 357; on the Great Western Turnpike, 382
Choconut, destroyed by Gen. Clinton, 276
Chonobote, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Christiansen, Capt., 32
Church, Col. Timothy, settles in Bainbridge, 342
Clarke, George, his home on Otsego Lake, 94
Clarke, George, Lieut-Gov. 93
Claus, Col. Daniel, at Oswego, 185; letter from to Brant, 326
Clinton, Gov. George, his papers, 5; petition to, 204; criticises Gen. Gates, 222; advises sending militia to Unadilla, 229; advises destruction of Oghwaga, 233; correspondence as to Gates, 255-257; sends Col. Gansevoort to Fort Schuyler, 293; suggest forts on the frontier, 315; visits Cherry Valley, 333
Clinton, Gen. James, on the Susquehanna, 4; his brigade of the Sullivan expedition, 258; builds dam at Otsego Lake, 260; sends Col. Van Schaick to Onondaga, 263; starts for Tioga Point, 271; portrait of, facing 272; descent of the Susquehanna by, 271-277; reaches Tioga Point, 276
Clyde, Col. Samuel, goes to Unadilla with Herkimer, 177; makes a report, 209, 227; at Oriskany, 238; on the destruction of Canajoharie, 293
Clyde, Dr. James D., 238
Cobleskill, Banyar's lands in, 112; battle of, 207-208; attacked, 305
Cockburn, William, 109
Colden, Alexander, surveyor, 109
Colden, Cadwalader, report of, on the Susquehanna, 38; and the land grievances of the Mohawks, 161
Collier, Isaac and Peter, 332
Colliers, Indians captured at, 172; Gen. Clinton at, 273-274
Cone, the brothers, 342
Conkey, Rev. Alexander, 373
Connecticut, emigration from, to frontier, 388; ancestral roots in, 339, 340, 342; people from, in Cooperstown, 358
Continental road, not opened by Gen. Clinton, 259
Conway, Gen. Thomas, warnings reach him from the frontier, 221
Cookoze. See Deposit
Cooper, J. Fenimore, his "Chronicles of Cooperstown," 5; his early home, 104; his "Wyandotte," 112; arrives on Otsego Lake, 358, portrait of, facing 258; his writings, 360
Cooper, Judge William, goes to Otsego Lake, 104; his work in settling the frontier, 357-364; Talleyrand his guest, 369; cost of his lands, 395
Cooperstown, site of an Indian resort, 21-23; George Croghan's lands at, 103; settled by Croghan, 126, 140-141; Gen. Clinton at, 261; settlers in from Connecticut, 343, 351; Talleyrand visits, 369; church at, 373; graves of Father Nash and Cooper at, 378
Corlear (or Van Curler), Arendt, saves Father Jogues, 45
Corn Planter, the, co-operating with Brant, 296; kindness of, to his white father, 299
Cornwallis, Gen. Lord, his surrender, 208
Cosby's Manor Patent, 93
Council Rock, 21
Cox, Col. Ebenezer, angry words with Brant, 181; killed at Oriskany, 190
Crafts, Capt. Samuel, 344
Croghan, Col. George, his Otsego patent, 103: settles on, 126, 140-141: note of unpaid, 169-170; Gen. Clinton on the site of his home, 261; loses his Otsego lands, 357
Crosby, Rev. Aaron, missionary, 81
Crysler, Adam, at Wyoming, 218, 219; goes to Vroomansville, 294; in battle at Summit Lake, 306

INDEX

Cully, Matthew, settles on the Susquehanna, 126; Gen. Clinton at his farm, 273; returns to his farm, 334
Cunahunta, an Oneida village, 27, 143; destroyed by Col. William Butler, 235; Gen. Clinton at, 274-275
Currietown burned, 304
Cusick, David, his "History of the Six Nations," 25
Cutting, Leonard M., 395

Dakazenensere, Isaac, 77
Dartmouth College, origin of, 82; Brant sends his sons to, 323
Dartmouth, Earl of, employment of Indians in the war, 151
Deane, James, as interpreter, 80; as an Indian Commissioner, 210; at Otsego Lake, 262
De Forest, family of, settle on the Unadilla River, 123; Capt. Abel, 343
Delaware, the settlements on, invaded, 201; Brant gets supplies on, 207
Delaware County, western boundary of, 102
Delaware Indians, party of, captured on the Susquehanna, 74
Dellius, Rev. Dr. Godfriedus, among the Mohawks, 47
Demesses camp, Gen. Clinton at, 273
Dennison, Col., his agreement broken, 238
Depew, Chauncey M., 393
Deposit, formerly Cookoze, 101-102; Brant at, 237; railroad at, 390
Dickinson, Daniel S., 356
Diefendorf, Jacob, alive on his own grave, 304
Dietz, Capt., his family murdered, 305; his sufferings as a prisoner, 311
Dongan, Governor Thomas, his interest in the Susquehanna, 34; secures missionaries, 46; thwarts William Penn, 88-92
Donnelly, Terence, 383
Doxstader, John, commands Tories at Torlock, 304; a colt he lost, 311
Dunlop, Rev. Samuel, brings Scotch-Irish to Cherry Valley, 120; his church there, 140; escapes the massacre, 244
Dunnavan, Anthony, shot as a deserter, 262
Dusler, John, his affidavit as to Herkimer and Brant, 181
Dutch, the, as fur traders, 7, 87
Dwight, Rev. Dr. Timothy, his anecdote of Sir William Johnson and King Hendrick, 96; visits the Catskill Turnpike, 383-387

East Sidney, 349, 355
Edmeston, settlers in, 122, 123; three men killed at, 225
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan; interest in the Indians, 52, 54; at Stockbridge, 56; hears from Gideon Hawley, 65
Edwards, Jonathan, Jr., at Oghwaga, 64
Eghwagy, Creek, white men reach, 35
Elerson, David, adventure of near Otsego Lake, 260: with the Sullivan expedition, 283
Ellison, William, 357
Elm Grove, settled, 127
English, the, as fur traders, 8
Erie Canal, 389
Erie Railway, 389, 391
Esopus, turnpike to, 176; prisoners taken near, 293
Esther, Queen, at Wyoming, 219
E Tow O Koam, King of the River Indians in 1710; portrait of, facing 158

Fenn, Rev. S., of Harpersfield, 172
Ferguson, William, 128
Fisher, Col. ——, his failure to relieve Cherry Valley, 246
Forbes, Rev. Eli, at Oghwaga, 69, 72
Forbes, Virginia Isabel, the author's wife, dedication to, iii
Ford, Lieut.-Col. Jacob, sends out scouting parties, 213
Fort Dayton, 226; scalps taken at, 264; attacked, 295
Fort Herkimer, 226; troops at, 305
Fort Hunter, mission at, 49, 59; patent at, 92; Sir John Johnson at, 297
Fort Niagara, winter headquarters for Indians and Tories, 187; Brant at, 263; prisoners taken to, 289, 305
Fort Orange, 8, 32
Fort Oswego, British forces gathered at, 185; an ancient rendezvous, 186; attack from expected, 202; view of, facing 186; the enemy at, 291, 309; Willett attempts capture of, 309; Indians dismissed at, 310

INDEX

Fort Plank, 264
Fort Schuyler, new name for Fort Stanwix, 187; invested by St. Leger, 188; St. Leger's flight from, 194; Indians hovering about, 288; the enemy at, 292; suffering at, 300; its barracks burned, 302; abandoned, 305; settlement planted near, 339
Fort Stanwix, treaty of, 99–103; renamed Fort Schuyler, 187, which see; 399
Forty Fort, besieged at Wyoming, 218, 238
Fox, Charles James, gives Brant a snuff-box, 320
Franchots, settle Louisville, 127
Franklin, Benjamin, 7; his Plan of Union, 63; at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, 100; scalp story attributed to, 313–314
Franklin, Col. William Butler in, 234; Sluman Wattles settles in, 348, 355, 373, 384
Franklin, William, 348, 357
Frederic, Harold, his "In the Valley," 249
Frontenac, Count Louis de Buode, burns Schenectady, 92; at Oswego, 186
Fuller, Abraham, builds mills on the Ouleout, 135, 355

GAINE, HUGH, 108
Gano, Rev. John, chaplain of General Clinton's brigade, 262; account of departure from Otsego Lake, 271–272
Gansevoort, Colonel Peter, commands Fort Schuyler, 188; announces attack on Cherry Valley as planned, 240; sent to Fort Schuyler, 293
Gates, General Horatio, neglect of frontier by, 221; responsibility for neglect, 255
Gathtsewarohare, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Genesee country, Sullivan's expedition in, 281; New England men settle in, 338
Geneva. See Kanadesaga
George III, views as to Fort Stanwix treaty, 102; receives Brant, 320
George IV entertains Brant, 321
Germaine, Lord George, Brant's interviews with, 162–164
German Flatts, massacre and burning of, 67, 123; conference at with Indians, 73; patriots of, 148; rendezvous of General Herkimer, 189; Arnold's relief force at, 193; scalping parties near, 213; warnings as to attack on, 223; Brant destroys, 225–226; the enemy at, 288, 302; lands of Colonel Guy Johnson at, confiscated, 337; influx of settlers to, 339
Gilbert, Abijah, 368
Gilbertsville, 368
Glasford, ——, a Tory, 235, 236, 275
Good Peter, chief of the Oneidas, 54; as a missionary, 68, 69
Goodyear, Jared, 343
Goodyear Mills, 23
Gordon, Dowager Duchess of, 127
Gould, Jay, his "History of Delaware County," 5, 120
Guild, Israel, 357
Grand River, lands of Mohawks on, 319
"Grant, Rev. Mr.," 376
Grants, New Hampshire, General Stark's attention to, 257, 341
Gray, Captain William, his map, 130; describes the destruction of Oghwaga, 235
Great Inland River, 19, 332
Greene, Talleyrand visits, 369
Groesbeck, John, his patent, 94

HALDIMAND, SIR FREDERICK, promises to the Indians, 150; "scalp story," 315
Halsey, Gaius Leonard, 388, 413
Halsey, Matthew, 344
Hamilton, Alexander, 368
Hancock, John, 151
Hand, General Edward, fails to protect Cherry Valley, 239-240, 244, 246; visits Cherry Valley after the war, 333
Handsome Brook, Colonel William Butler's camp at its mouth, 236
Hanford, Uriah, 397
Hanna, William, goes to Unadilla with Herkimer, 178; his hotel, 385, 386, 387
Hare, Lieutenant Henry, hanged as a spy, 258
Harper, family of, settle in Cherry Valley, 120; settle in Harpersfield, 131; return to Harpersfield, 334
Harper, Captain Alexander, reports as to the enemy, 214; taken by Brant, 288; a chief saves his life, 290; opening roads, 380

INDEX

Harper, Colonel John, at school in Lebanon, 121; vigilance committee formed in his house, 149; sent to Oghwaga, 169-171; captures Indians at Colliers, 171; at the interview between Brant and Herkimer, 179; raises a company of light horse, 201; to raise state troops, 206; secures squadron of cavalry from Albany, 216; destroys Skoiyase, 281; watches Sir John Johnson, 296; relations with Indians after the war, 324; lands of, 348

Harper, Captain William, his patent, 143; criticises Klock's conduct at Cherry Valley, 246

Harpersfield, patent at, 131; vigilance committee formed at, 149; alarm at, 177; in Tory hands, 201; troops wanted at, 221; burned by Brant, 289; settled again, 355

Hartford County, Conn., 339

Hartley, Colonel, follows Butler from Wyoming, 219; his action one of the causes of the Cherry Valley massacre, 229

Hartwick, John C., settles his patent, 125

Hastings, Hugh, State Historian, his "Clinton Papers," 5

Hawley, Rev. Gideon, missionary, 23, 55; at Stockbridge, 57; goes to Oghwaga, 58-62; war interrupts his work, 63-67; labors elsewhere, 68

Hayes, Isaac, 343, 354, 389

Heckewelder, Rev. John, definition of the word Susquehanna, 18

Helmer, John A., gives warning to German Flatts, 223

Hendrick, King, at school in Stockbridge, 56; anecdote of, 96

Hendrickson, 33

Herkimer, Abraham, 183

Herkimer, George, 183

Herkimer, Henry, his farm, 124, 212

Herkimer, General Nicholas, a Palatine, 38; sent to Unadilla, 177; interview with Brant, 178-184; calls out militia, 189; advance on Fort Schuyler, 190; at the battle of Oriskany, 190-192; wounded, 190; his death, 192

Herkimer County rapidly peopled, 339

Hicks, John, 128

Himmel, Baltus, 335

Hiokatoo, commands Senecas at Cherry Valley, 240, 247

Hotchkiss, Lemuel, 383

Honeoye, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281

Honeyost, letters of, 83; eloquence of, 84

Houck flat, Herkimer's camp on, 179

Houghtaling, Abraham, 335

Howe, Sir William, sails for America, 165; Brant serves under, 168

House, John, captured by Brant, 269

Howard, Lord, of Effingham, 89

Hudson, Henry, 6

Hughston, James, 341, 349

Hughston, Jonas, 349

Hunt, Menad, 380

Hunt, Ransom, 342, 395

Huntington, Gurdon, 353

INGAREN, destroyed by General Clinton, 276

Iroquois, the greatest of all Indians, 11; their coming to New York, 12; fort of, facing 12; their league, 13; their imperial domain, 14; never a numerous people, 15; their frontier lands, 16; trails of, 29; chiefs of, in London, 35, 50; Jesuit priests among, 43-47; English missionaries to, 47-51; Elihu Spencer's labor among, 53; Gideon Hawley's, 56-68; four western nations leaving the English, 69; Dr. Wheelock's interest in, 69-72, 76-79, 82; last missions among, 80-84; message from, to Charles II, 90; at the Fort Stanwix treaty, 99-103; their course in the war, 149-156; land grievances of, 163; meet Herkimer at Unadilla, 178; losses at Oriskany, 192; revenge their motive in the border wars, 195; council with, at Johnstown, 205; why they helped destroy Cherry Valley, 238; at massacre of Cherry Valley, 239-252; attack Lackawaxen, 264; sent against Sullivan, 265; invade Minisink, 266; towns of, destroyed by Clinton, 276; at the battle of Newtown, 279; Sullivan destroys their villages, 280-283; they lay waste Schoharie and the Mohawk, 287-294; gather at Tioga Point, 296; the number of those who served in the war, 310; abandoned by the British, 310; their appalling losses, 316; their help to England in overthrowing France, 318;

their homes after the war, 317-319; great central trail of, 391
Ithaca, road to, from the Ouleout, 380

James II, 91
Jay, John, 367, 368
Jemison, Mary, 186, 187; describes Hiokatoo, 247; quoted, 283; furnishes food for Brant, 311
Jesuit missionaries, their devotion, 43; as political agents of France, 46, 318; Dongan's opposition to, 47
Jogues, Father Isaac, among the Mohawks, 43; murdered, 45
Johnson, Mrs., 357
Johnson, Colonel Guy, succeeds Sir William, 148; interferes with missionaries, 149; removes to Canada, 150; instructions to, from England, 151; bills of, for entertainment of Indians in London, 165; sends Brant to Oghwaga, 168; disagreement with Brant, 172; lands of, confiscated, 337
Johnson, Sir John, sent to Oghwaga, 75; attainted, 110; his loyalty to England, 152; at Oswego, 185; his Royal Greens at Wyoming, 218; at Newtown, 278; expected on the Mohawk, 288; his arrival and work of destruction, 291; sends Crysler to Schoharie, 294; his second expedition to the Mohawk, 295-300; his lands confiscated, 338
Johnson, Sir William, sends traders to Oghwaga, 39; portrait of, facing 40; builds chapel at Canajoharie, 51; his interest in missionaries, 53; aids Gideon Hawley, 58; asked to send no more rum to Indians, 62; influence of with the Iroquois, 63, 196; at the battle of Lake George, 66; opposes further settlements, 71; convenes German Flatts conference, 73; sends expedition against hostile Indians, 74-75; his Susquehanna patent, 95; his "dreamland tract," 96-97; negotiates treaty of Fort Stanwix, 99-103; his lands in the Charlotte Valley, 110; his sudden death, 147; as to land grievances of the Mohawks, 161: marries Mollie Brant, 159; Joseph Brant his interpreter, 160; his trading post at Oswego, 186; his work at a critical moment, 318
Johnson, William, a half-breed, anecdote of, 79, 160, 179
Johnston, Hugh, saves a family at Cherry Valley, 243; returns to Sidney, 335
Johnston, Milton C., Brant's camp on his farm, 179
Johnston, Witter, settles in Sidney with his father, 133; returns to Sidney, 335
Johnston, Rev. William, in the Mohawk Valley, 58; buys land at Sidney, 111; families follow him, 131; his early history, 131; settles in Sidney, 133-134; forced to abandon his settlement, 173-175; returns to Unadilla with Herkimer, 177; asks for troops to be sent to Cherry Valley, 204; preaches in Cherry Valley, 224; escapes the massacre, 243; chaplain of Colonel Alden's regiment, 244; his death, 335.
Johnston Settlement, 26, 133-134; Colonel Harper at with a regiment, 170; destruction of, prevented, 172; dispersed by Brant, 173-175; Herkimer's meeting at with Brant, 177-184; Butler at, 234. See Sidney.
Johnstown, Councils at, 161, 205; Sir John Johnson at, 291; Major Ross overcome at, 306
Joncs, Robert, affidavit of, 214
Josephine, Empress of France, 359

Kalm, Peter, 40
Kanadesaga, Cherry Valley massacre celebrated at, 251; incident at, 252; destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Kanaghsaws, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Kanawaholla, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 280
Kellogg, Martin, an interpreter, 64
Kelly, Barnabas, statement by, 212
Kendaia, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 280
King, Rufus, 367
King, Thomas, 81
Kirkland, Samuel, missionary, 78; influence of with Oneidas, 149, 154
Kleynties, ——, explores the Susquehanna, 32
Klipnockie, early colloquial name for Oneonta, 335
Klock, Colonel ——, fears for the fate of Tryon County, 221; ordered to defend Cherry Valley,

240; his failure to arrive in time, 243, 245
Klock's Field, battle of, 298
Klock, George, described as "an old rogue," 161, 181
Knapp, ——-, 127
Kortright, its early prosperity, 388

LACKAWAXEN, Brant's expedition to, 215; attacked, 264; Brant's battle near, 267-268; the enemy at, 305
Lafayette, Marquis de, forts built at the instance of, 206
Lansing, John, 115
La Salle, 14
Laurens, settled, 128
Laurens, Henry, 128
Leather Stocking, 104; his farewell to Otsego Lake, 332, 361
Lebanon, Indian school at, 69; missionaries from, 76; work of the school at, 82, 170; Brant's gratitude to, 324
Lee, General Charles, 365, 367
Leonard, Joseph, 354
Le Quoy, F. Z., 359
Levy, Hayman, a trader, 107
Lindesay, his Cherry Valley patent, 93; settles on the patent, 119
Litchfield, Conn., 340
Little Aaron, saves Mr. Dunlop at Cherry Valley, 244
Little Beard's Town, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Little Falls, eleven men killed at, 305
Livingston, John, 114
Livingston, Peter V. B., lands of, 114, 348
Livingston, Philip, his lands, 93-94
Logan, the Indian orator, 18
Long, Captain ——, 231-232, 236
Louis Philippe, 370
Lounsbury, Professor T. R., quoted, 338; his "Life of Fenimore Cooper," 358
Low, Cornelius, a New York merchant, 106-107
Low, Nicholas, settles on Otsego Lake, 125
Lull, Benjamin, 127

MACHIN, Captain Thomas, helps make the West Point chain, 258; goes against the Onondagas, 263
McAuley, Rev. William, 388
McDonald, ——, a Tory, 201; invades Schoharie, 216
McGinnis, Robert, 111, 131
McKean, Captain Robert, in the French war, 67; invites Brant to Cherry Valley, 212; goes to Unadilla as a scout, 223; Brant inquires after, 247; marriage of, 244; killed, 304
McKee, Miss Annie, runs the gantlet, 312
McKown, William, his adventure with Brant, 209
McMaster, David, settles in Unadilla, 131; driven out, 174; goes to Unadilla with Herkimer, 178; escapes massacre at Cherry Valley, 244; returns to Sidney, 335
McMaster, Professor John B., 381
McWhorter, Dr. ——, 130
Martin Brook, 353
Martin, Solomon, 353, 381, 395, 396
Maryland, early settlement of, 127; settlers after the war, 344
Massachusetts, emigration from to the frontier, 338
Mathews, Mayor David, 109
Mayall, Joseph, settles in Laurens, 128
Maynard, Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan, his life saved by Brant, 248; killed at Cobleskill, 208
Megapolensis, Dominie ——, among the Mohawks, 46
Meredith, 377, 385
Metcalf, Simon, surveyor, 101
Middleburgh, Palatines settle, 36; Sir John Johnson invades, 297
Middlefield, settled, 126; inhabitants of retire to Cherry Valley, 209; settlers return to, 234
Middleton, Peter, his patent, 104, 108
Milet, Rev. Peter, missionary among the Oneidas, 43
Miller, John, 357
Miln, Rev. John, missionary, 50
Minisink, invaded from Oghwaga, 214; route through to the Susquehanna, 218; Brant invades, 237; battle of, 265-269; Brant's account of the battle, 267; prisoners taken at, 289; the enemy at, 302
Mitchell, Dr. Henry, 394
Mohawks, home of, 32; murder of Father Jogues, 45; Megapolensis visits, 46; Dr. Dellius among, 47; Bernardus Freeman labors among, 48; T. Moor's labors, 48; William Andrews's, 48; John Miln's, 50; at school in Stockbridge, 56-57; act as teachers, 77; consumption among, 83; and Sir William John-

son, 96; village lands of, 101; King of, 158; Colonel Guy Johnson's conference with, 149; remove to Canada, 151; land grievances of, 161; go to Oghwaga, 166; at Unadilla to meet Herkimer, 178–184; confined to one place, 180; not hostile to Penn, 216; number of in the war, 310; lands of on Grand River, 319; Brant translates the Gospel of Mark into tongue of, 323
Mohawk Valley, traders in, 3; patents in, 92–93; population before the Revolution, 117; state of in 1757, 124; invaded by Brant, 172; disaster enters, 223; main war scenes shifted to, 287; Sir John Johnson invades, 291; Butler and Brant invade, 292; Sir John's second invasion of, 298–300; Willett in command in, 301; Major Ross invades, 305; threatened with invasion, 309; return to, of the settlers, 331–336; Hugh White arrives in, 339; confiscation of Indian lands in, 337; William Cooper in, 357; granaries in exhausted, 363; railways in, 391
Mohicans, village of, 143
Monmouth, battle of, 203
Montcalm, Marquis de, dismantles Oswego, 187
Montour, Captain Andrew, destroys Indian town, 75
Montreal, original home of Iroquois near, 13
Moor, Rev. T., missionary, 48
Moore, Mrs. ——, a prisoner at Cherry Valley, 250
Moore, Colonel John, settles on the Susquehanna, 334.
Moore, Jonathan, 342
Morgan, Lewis H., his "League of the Iroquois," 12; quoted, 43
Morris, churches of, 373
Morris, Gouverneur, 370
Morris, General Jacob, pioneer on Butternut Creek, 365–368, 380
Morris, Lewis, 366
Morris, Staats Long, his patent, 104, 366; visits the patent, 127; his route, 138, 379
Morrisania, 366
Mosley, Rev. Eleazer, missionary, 80, 144
Mosley, Rev. Elisha, 373
Moses, an Indian, 160
Mount Moses, 24
Mount Vision, 357
Mumford, George, settles at mouth of Cherry Valley Creek, 342
Munro, Henry, missionary, 51
Murphy, Timothy, his prowess in war, 232–233; with the Sullivan expedition, 287
Musson, William, 368

Napoleon Bonaparte, 359, 372
Nash, Rev. Daniel, his work as a founder of churches, 374–378
Newbury, Sergeant, hanged as a spy, 258
Newell, Nathan, 343
New England, pioneers from, on the frontier, 337-346
New Milford, 374
Newtown, Indians to make a stand at, 265; fortifications at, 278; battle of, 279–280
Noble, Curtis, 343, 354, 389, 397
Northumberland, Duke of, his relations to Brant, 320; friendship for Brant, 325–326

Oaks Creek, 125
O'Bail, John, son of the Corn Planter, 299
Occum, Samson, educated Indian, 69; letter of, to the Iroquois, 155
Oel, Rev. John J., missionary, 51
Ogden, family of, in Otego, 130; driven out by Brant, 175; escape massacre at Cherry Valley, 244; Gen. Clinton camps on the farm of, 273, 275; return to Otego, 335; Daniel, 351
Oghwaga, chief town on the upper Susquehanna, 27; forms of the word, 27; Indians of, 28; young men sent to, 38; Elihu Spencer at, 53; Gideon Hawley at, 57, 60; fort built at, 65; Indians of, 67; hostile Indians at, 73; Sir John Johnson's expedition to, 75; Ralph Wheelock at, 79; Eleazer Moseley at, 80; Aaron Crosby at, 81; Smith and Wells at, 144; Mohawk headquarters, 166; Col. Harper at, 170; message from to Gen. Herkimer, 178; warriors at, 181; Indians at, after Oriskany, 195; Delaware settlements invaded from, 201; Brant returns to, 207; Minisink invaded from, 214; Butler returns to, from Wyoming, 219; Gov. Clinton advises destruction of, 233; Col. William Butler destroys, 237; Brant at, waiting for Gen. Clinton, 265;

Minisink invaded from, 265; Gen. Clinton at, 276; prisoners at, 289; settled from New England, 343
Oghwaga Hill, 276
Ogilvy, Rev. John, missionary, 51
Old England District, 127; Brant in, 214
Onawatoge, Brant destroys, 279
Oneidas, lands of, 16-17; missionaries to, 49; at Oghwaga, 69; school among, 77; in Wisconsin, 83; loyal to Americans, 154; oppose a war measure, 184; invade Edmeston, 226-227; Brant tries to win over, 263; one of them kills Walter Butler, 307; numbers of them in the war, 310; confirmed in possession of their lands, 319; on the Susquehanna after the war, 332; lands New York bought from, 342
Oneonta, Indian relics burned at, 23; main street of, 29; settled, 129; settlers return to, 334; first church at, 373, 381; turnpike to, 388; prosperity of, 387
Oneonta Creek, store-house on, 142; Brant visits, 143
Onondaga, the Iroquois capital, 15; French intrigue at, 35; Col. Van Schaick's expedition to, 263; sentiment divided at, 318
Onondagas, drawn into war, 184; expedition against, 363
Oothout Voleert, his patent, 94
Oriskany, patent of, 93; battle of, 152, 188–192; meaning of, to frontier, 194; Indian revenge for losses at, 205, 315; monument at, facing 196
Otego, the patent, 105; surveyed, 127, 141; Gen. Clinton at, 174; Ransom Hunt settles in, 342
Otego Creek, village at mouth of, 24, 60; Sir William Johnson's "dreamland tract" not at, 97; Smith and Wells at, 143; Gen. Clinton at, 275
Otsdawa Creek, settled, 128
Otsego Lake, other names for, 21-22, 32; on an early map, 33; transportation by way of, 38; missionaries at, 76; George Croghan at, 103; settlement at, 125-126; roads to and from, 139, 224, 379; Clinton at, 255-262; Col. Alden's regiment ordered to, 259; road to, from the Mohawk, 259; adventure of David Elerson near, 260; Anthony Dunnavan shot at, 262; Gen. Clinton starts from, 271; Washington visits, 333; settled from Connecticut, 342-343; William Cooper arrives at, 357; Gen. Jacob Morris at, 365; canal from, 390, 399
Otsego County, rapidity of its early settlement, 125, 346; first Judge of, 359; William Cooper's work in settling, 360-364; famine in, 363; political wars of, 367; its early population, 389; slaves in, 397
Otsego Hall, 357, 362
Otseningo, destroyed by Gen. Clinton, 276
Ouaquaga, 276
Ouleout, settled, 135; Col. William Butler goes down, 234; Indian huts on, 236; settled after the war, 341; mouth of, 347; road from, to Geneva, 380; settlers on, 384
Owego, meaning of the word, 101; line of property at, 103; destroyed by Gen. Clinton, 276; first settlers of, 355
Oxford, 387

PAGE, SHERMAN, 354, 399
Paine, Edward, 380
Painted Post, Indian forces collected at, 296
Palatine, settlement near, invaded, 288
Palatines, the German, in Schoharie and the Mohawk, 35; descend the Susquehanna, 37; their New York settlements, 38, 116; patriotism of, 148; supplanted by New Englanders, 337
Pallas, an Indian, 59, 60
Palmer's Island, 19
Parkman, Francis, 14, 40, 44
Patchin, Freegift, taken to Niagara as a prisoner, 289
Patrick, Capt. ——, killed at Cobleskill, 208
Peck, Judge Jedediah, 344, 398
Pennamite wars, 218
Penn, William, seeks to gain the Susquehanna, 34, 88; revenge on Governor Dongan, 91
Petrie, John J., his lands, 94
Phelan Place, in Cherry Valley, 241
Pontiac, conspiracy of, 72, 73
Pouchot, M., describes the Susquehanna, 39
Preston, Amos, 343
Prevost, Captain Augustin, 126

INDEX

QUACKENBUSH, ADAM, 335
Quackyac, commands the Indians at Torlock, 304
Quebec, fall of, 69, 87

RAC-SOUTAGH, an Indian, 158
Renonard, Andrew, 127, 359
Rice, Rev. Asaph, at Oghwaga, 69
Richfield, the Schuyler patent at, 94; first settled, 124; Indians at, 224; Levi Beardsley settles in, 343
Ridgway, William, 127, 143
Rivington, James, 108
Roberts, Ellis H., 14
Rogers, Perry P., 336; his reminiscences, 393
Rogers, Samuel, 342
Roosevelt, Theodore, 8
Root, Erastus, 342, 396
Rose, Colonel William, 343, 354
Ross, Betsy, makes the first flag, 188
Ross, Major ——, invades the Mohawk, 305; driven back to the wilderness, 306

ST. LEGER, GENERAL BARRY, his campaign, 185; organizes his force at Oswego, 187; invests Fort Schuyler, 188; renews the siege, 193; his sudden flight, 194; on Lake Champlain, 300
Saga Yean Qua Resh, Tow, king of the Mohawks, 158
Sand Hill Creek, 24
Sands, Judge Obadiah, 397
Sands, Frederick A., 397
Sau, Rau Roh Wah, Indian chief, his death, 25
Sawyer, ——, kills two Indians, 263; "Scalp Story," 313
Schenectady, missionaries at, 47; settlement of and burning of, 92; settlers coming into, 210, 264; to be destroyed, 300
Schenevus Creek, 23; settlement at mouth of, 122; Indians captured on, 171
Schoharie, meaning of the word, 31; Palatines in, 36; complaints from, 201; half in ruins, 202; invaded, 216; troops wanted at, 221; Colonel William Butler arrives in, 230; after the Susquehanna expedition, 236; prisoners taken in, 264; main war scenes shifted to, 287; prisoners taken at, 292; Sir John Johnson desolates, 297; alarm in, 303; land values in, 395
Schuyler, David; his patent, 94
Schuyler's Lake. See Canadurango Lake
Schuyler, Mayor Peter, in London with Iroquois chiefs, 35, 50, 158
Schuyler, General Philip, convenes conference with Indians, 151; confers with Herkimer, 177; endorses warnings from frontier, 204
Schwartz, ——, 335
Scotch Highlanders, on the Mohawk, 116
Scotch-Irish, on the Susquehanna, 116; their influence in America, 118, 119; in Unadilla, 130; on the Ouleout, 135; in Sidney, 133; their patriotism, 148; in Connecticut, 341; supplanted by New Englanders, 337; start migration to Wattles's ferry, 348
Scramling, family of, settles in Oneonta, 129; Henry goes to Unadilla with Herkimer, 178; returns to Oneonta, 334; David and George settle in Oneonta, 334
Sears, Captain Isaac, 108
Senecas, lands of, 30, 32; peaceful times among, 152; drawn into the war, 184; at the Oswego conference, 186; beaten at Oriskany, 188–192; fail to attend the Johnstown council, 205; join Brant, 215; at Wyoming, 218; why they went to Cherry Valley, 238; barbarities of, 247; invade Sleeper's Mills, 250
Sergeant, Rev. John, his death, 56, 340
Service, Captain ——, a Tory, 212; killed, 231–232
Seymour, Horatio, his views of Oriskany, 194
Sharon Centre. See Torlock
Shaw, Joseph, 355, 368
Shawhiangto, destroyed by General Clinton, 276
Shays's rebellion, 339
Shemanwaga, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Shirley, General William, enlarges Fort Oswego, 187
Sidney, ancient fort at, 25; Indian giant who lived there, 25; the knoll at, 26; the settlement founded, 58; lands sold at, 111; Rev. William Johnston settles, 133–134; settlement broken up by Brant, 173–175; meeting of Herkimer and Brant at, 178–183; General Clinton at, 273; return of the Johnstons to, 335; Israel Smith settles in, 342; church at, 377

INDEX

Simms, J. R., his "History of Schoharie County," 18
Six Nations, the. See Iroquois
Skenando, an Oneida chief, friend of the Americans, 154
Skillings, ——, his skeleton found near Unadilla, 352
Skoiyase, destroyed by the Sullivan expedition, 281
Sleeper, Joseph, settles on the Otego patent, 128, 142; his home invaded by the Senecas, 250, 398
Sliter, family of, settle in Unadilla, 134; driven out by Brant, 173-175
Smith, Rev. C. J., missionary, 70
Smith, Captain John, 14, 17
Smith Hall, 129, 359
Smith, Israel, settles in Sidney, 342
Smith, Richard, 128, 139, 358
Smith and Wells, settle the Otego patent, 117; journal of their tour, 138-143
Snyder, Captain ——, describes Brant, 166
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 48, 52
Spencer, Amos, settles in Maryland, 344
Spencer, Rev. Elihu, missionary to Oghwaga, 53, 340
Spencer, Jonathan, 336
Spencer, Orange, 336
Spencer, Thomas, half-breed orator, 148; brings news of St. Leger's coming, 189; killed at Oriskany, 192
Springfield, settled, 126; inhabitants retire to Cherry Valley, 209; destroyed by Brant, 211; General Clinton's stores taken to, 259; settlers in, 344
Stacy, Colonel ——, hardships suffered by as a prisoner, 350
Stark, General John, wins the battle of Bennington, 189; commands at Albany, 209; opposes offensive operations, 230; his instructions from General Gates, 255; his responsibility for frontier disasters, 256; weakens Colonel Willett, 308
Stars and Stripes, the, a rude copy made at Fort Schuyler, 188
Stewart, General ——, associated with Brant, 320
Stiles, Job, messenger from Sullivan to Clinton, 269
Stockbridge, Indian school at, 52, 56, 57
Stone Arabia, two persons killed in, 264; battle of, 298
Stone, Colonel W. L., his "Life of Brant," 5, 157; sketch of, 74; describes battle of Oriskany, 190-192; Brant at Minisink, 268; quoted, *passim*
Stuart, Rev. John, missionary, Brant assists in translations, 160; sketch of, 180
Sturges, Judge Hezekiah, 343
Sullivan, General John, his expedition, 220; Congress orders it, 257; Clinton's brigade at Otsego Lake, 255-262; the enemy sent against, 265; sends a detachment to meet Clinton, 276; short of supplies, 277; starts from Tioga Point, 278; battle of Newtown, 279; towns he laid waste, 280-282; futility of his work, 214
Summit Lake, Sir John Johnson's expedition camps on, 297; battle at, 305
Susquehanna, historic interest of, 3, fur traders on, 8, 34; fort on, proposed, 35; Captain John Smith at mouth of, 17; meaning of the name, 18; Iroquois name for, 19; Indian population of, 21; villages on, 21; trails on, 29-31; first white men on, 32; William Penn's interest in, 24; Colden's report on, 38; Sir William Johnson's interest in, 39; missionary field on, 72; expedition to, 74; Penn seeks to purchase, 88; conveyance of, to the English, 89-90; early patents on, 93-96; Wallace patent on, 106; Scotch-Irish settle on, 116-118; road to from Catskill, 138; road down from Otsego Lake, 139; Brant and the Mohawks arrive on, 166; Herkimer descends, 178; settlements on destroyed, 202; Indians about to "strike" on, 205; Brant collecting Tories on, 207; view of confluence of, with the Unadilla, facing 102; Clinton's descent of, 272-277; flood in, at opening of dam at Otsego Lake, 271-272; a highway for invaders, 287; desolation on, 311, 331; return of settlers to, 332-336, 342-346, 348-353; Talleyrand's visit, 368-371; tour of, by Dr. Burhans, 374; churches founded on, 373-378; Bishop Philander Chase's visit, 375; Robert S. Witmore on, 375; turnpikes to, 379-391; proposed canal on, 390; isolation of settlements on, 392

Susquehanna Flats, 26. See also Sidney, Johnston Settlement and Unadilla, Old Town
Susquehanna Indians, meet Captain John Smith, 17; remains of, 19

TALLEYRAND, Brant meets, 323; visits the Susquehanna Valley, 368–371
Teedyuscung, a Delaware chief, 74
Tee Yee Ho Ga Row, Emperor of the Iroquois in 1710, portrait of, facing 158
Thurston, Increase, 127
Tioga County, 355
Tioga Point, meeting place of trails, 30; Indians at, 57; Line of Property at, 101; Colonel John Butler starts from, for Wyoming, 215, 218; council at, in preparation for Cherry Valley massacre, 240, 264; prisoners at, 251; Clinton starts for, 271; men sent from, to meet General Clinton, 276; the Sullivan Expedition departs from, 278; prisoners at, 289; Indian forces collected at, 296; Louis Philippe at, 370
Torlock, prisoners taken at, 264; battle of, 304; cattle captured at, 305
Towanoedalough, a Mohawk town, 23, 59
Towyjaronsere, John, Brant laments his death, 278
Tribes Hill, plundered by Sir John Johnson, 291
Trowbridge, Captain ——, 355
Tryon County, events in, 5; Campbell's "Annals" of, 21; corner of, 24; territory of, 119; patriots in, 148; militia of, under Herkimer, 177, 189; pays the penalty of Indian losses at Oriskany, 195; danger in, 221, 228; its most opulent parts destroyed, 294; Tories weakening in, 295; decline in militia of, 303; losses in, 312, 313
Tunnicliffe, John, settles in Richfield, 123; the enemy at his house, 211, 224; returns to Richfield, 244
Tuscaroras, lands of, in New York, 17, 319; lands New York bought of, 342

ULSTER, invaded by Brant, 289; enemy lurking in, 308
Unadilla, old town, Indian lands in, 16; Indian monument near, 24; territory originally embraced in, 26; meaning of the word, 26; Gideon Hawley at, 60; settled by Scotch-Irish, 130, 131; village of Mohicans near, 143; settlers at, retire to Cherry Valley, 166; Brant disperses the settlement in, 173–175; Tories at, with Brant, 176; Herkimer meets Brant at, 178–184; in the hands of Tories, 182; force Brant had at, 192; no patriots left in, 202; preparations at, to attack Cherry Valley, 204; Brant's return to, 206; a resort of Tories and negroes, 209; Colonel Butler expected at, 211; size of the force at, 214; attack on expected, 215; return of the enemy to, after Wyoming, 220; scout goes to, 224; prisoners taken at, 225; Governor Clinton advises sending militia to, 229–230; size of enemy at, 231, 234; Timothy Murphy at, 233; Colonel William Butler destroys, 234–236; General Clinton at, 273–275; prisoners taken to, 292; an invading force marches to, 296
Unadilla, township of, 374, 381; records of, 397
Unadilla, village of, St. Matthew's Church farm, 114; the Binnekill at, 335; settled from Connecticut, 342; ironware found buried at, 352; founders of, 353; St. Matthew's Church founded, 376; Dr. Timothy Dwight visits, 385, 386, 387; an inland river port, 387; reminiscences of, 413
Unadilla Forks, settled, 123
Unadilla River, part of Fort Stanwix line, 3, 101, 103; Oneida territory, 116; confluence of, with Susquehanna, 15; mouth of, resort of hunters, 25; view of, facing 102; settlement of, 122; men killed on, 225; Brant retreats down, 226–227; General Jacob Morris at mouth of, 365; Robert S. Wetmore on, 375; Dr. Timothy Dwight visits, 387; land values in, 395
Union, meeting at, between Clinton and Sullivan's men, 276
Upton, Clotworthy, his patent, 104
Utsyantha Lake, battle at, 306

VAN DERWERKER, Captain John, settles in Oneonta, 129; returns to Oneonta, 334
Van Hovenburg, Lieutenant, 273

INDEX

Van Rensselaer, General Robert, at the battle of Klock's Field, 298; findings of Court of Inquiry about, 297
Van Schaick, Colonel ——, goes to Cherry Valley, 177; expedition against the Onondagas, 263
Van Valkenberg, Joachim, settles at mouth of Schenevus Creek, 121, 141–142; General Clinton at his farm, 273–274; killed, 306
Van Vechten, Abraham, 114
Vissher, Colonel, his home invaded, 291
Vermont sufferers settle in the Susquehanna Valley, 341
Visscher, ——, map by, 32
Vrooman, ——, Brant's ineffective help of, to escape, 251

WADDELL, R. R., 108
Wagner, Joseph, 183
Wallace, Alexander, the patent called his, 106-115; a Tory, 109; attainted, 110
Wallace, Hugh, a New York merchant, 106; a Tory, 109; attainted, 110
Walling, Simeon, 335
Warner, George, made a prisoner, 305
Warren, Captain Benjamin, describes Colonel Alden's arrival at Cherry Valley, 223; his diary, 239. 242
Warren's Bush, invaded by Major Ross, 305
Warren, Sir Peter, aids Stockbridge School, 56
Washington, George, letter to the Iroquois, 155; his early battles, 176; his campaigns defensive ones, 196; in the Highlands, 203; directs Sullivan's Expedition, 257; as to General Clinton's supplies, 277; his instruction to Sullivan to be severe, 282; intervention of, in behalf of the Iroquois, 319; visits Cherry Valley and Otsego Lake, 333
Wasson, Catherine, 238
Wattles's Ferry, 135; Nathaniel Wattles establishes, 347, 353; terminus of Catskill Turnpike, 379; Dr. Timothy Dwight at, 384
Wattles, Nathaniel, 341, 380, 397
Wattles, Sluman, as a boy in Lebanon, 341, 347; settles in Franklin, 348; work on the Catskill Turnpike, 380; his account book, 397, 398
Wauteghe, Indian town, 60. See Otego
Wavonwanorem, Adam, 77
Wawarsing, burned, 305
Weiser, Conrad, the elder, leader of the Palatines, 36
Weiser, Conrad, the younger, 37; conversation with an Onandaga chief, 39; at Onondaga, 56
Weller, David, 343
Wells, Jane, killed at Cherry Valley, 241; story of her cap, 252
Wells, Captain John, builds fort at Oghwaga, 65; killed with his family at Cherry Valley, 241
Wells, John, escapes massacre at Cherry Valley; anecdote of, 323
Wetmore, Robert G., 375
Wempel, Abraham, 208
West Canada Creek, Willett's pursuit of Major Ross on, 306
Wheelock, Rev. Dr. Eleazer, his school at Lebanon, 69, 340
Wheelock, James, 323
Wheelock, Ralph, anecdote of, 79
White, Hugh, pioneer in the Mohawk Valley, 339
White, James, 355
White, Dr. Joseph, of Cherry Valley, 342
Whiting, Major Daniel, takes prisoners on the Butternut Creek, 227; at Cherry Valley, 241, 242; ordered to Otsego Lake, 259
Whitney's Point, 355
Willett, Colonel Marinus, second in command at Fort Schuyler, 188; leads sortie at Fort Schuyler, 193; wanted again, but not available, 230; portrait of, facing 301; arrives in the Mohawk Valley, 301; at the battle of Torlock, 304; drives the enemy into the wilderness, 305–307; attempts to capture Fort Oswego, 309
Wilmot, William, 342
Wilson, Peter, a Cayuga chief, speech of, 331
Windsor. See Oghwaga
Winedecker, George, a trader, 59
Wisner, John, enlists men on the Susquehanna, 167
Woodbridge, Timothy, missionary at Stockbridge, 52, 56; goes to Oghwaga, 57; returns to Albany, 61
Woodruff, Henry S., 389

Woolley, Joseph, missionary, 77
Worcester, Mass., destruction of Presbyterian Church at, 132; men from settle on the Unadilla, 134
Wormwood, Lieutenant Matthew, killed at Cherry Valley, 208
Wyalusing, 35, 65, 88
Wyoming, Dr. Wheelock's interest in, 71; families enter by the Susquehanna route, 142; motives for the massacre of, 197; attack on, planned early, 205; Colonel Butler to attack, 215; settled from Connecticut, 217; the massacre of, 218–220; relation of the massacre at, to the Cherry Valley massacre, 238

YAGER, W. E., 23
Young, David and John, 213, 334

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 014 107 251 1